

MEMOIRS OF IRELAND

FROM THE 1627.
Restoration, to the Present Times.

CONTAINING

- I. An Account of the Designs of the *Tories* in England and Ireland, to ruin the Protestant Interest there, by breaking the Act of Settlement, and other Acts made for its Security, in 1660, & seq.
- II. A Conspiracy to massacre the Protestants, in 1674.
- III. A Plot for a French Invasion, and to betray the strong Cities and Ports to the Invaders.
- IV. The Debates concerning that Plot in the Parliament of England, and the Proceedings against the Earl of Tyrone, and others thereupon.
- V. *Tyrconnel's* Cruel and Arbitrary Government.
- VI. The Tyrannical Reign of the late King *James*, and his Treaty with *Lewis* the XIVth, to deliver up that Kingdom to him.
- VII. Some Facts of the Wars in Ireland in 1689, 1690, 1691.

Never before Printed.

With Lists of King *James's* Officers Civil and Military; of his Popish Parliament in 1689, and of King *William's* Parliament in 1692.

By the AUTHOR of the *Secret History of Europe*.

L O N D O N:

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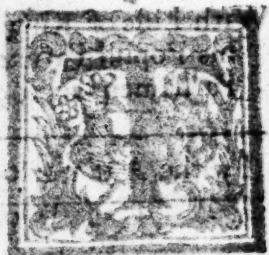
To the Right Honourable
 MEMBERS OF THE
 LORDS OF THE

Baronesses and Viscounts
 Colonel of the Second Regiment



7th June 1702
 My Lord

HOI have not the honour
 to be personally known to
 your Lordship yet I
 shew my self your Lord
 ship has heard of my name
 in the service of that Great
 and Good Cause for which you have so often
 fought with equal glory and success



Ts

A

To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM

Lord Cadogan ;

Baron of READING ;

Colonel of the Second Regiment
of FOOT-GUARDS ; Lieutenant-Ge-
neral of His Majesty's Armies ; His
Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary to the States-
General of the *United Provinces* ;
Knight of the Noble Order of the
Thistle ; and One of His Majesty's
most Honourable Privy-Council.

My LORD,



HO' I have not the Honour
to be personally known to
Your LORDSHIP, yet I
flatter my self, Your LORD-
SHIP has heard of my Zeal
in the Service of that Great
and Good Cause, for which You have so of-
ten fought with equal Glory and Success.

ii DEDICATION.

'Tis impossible for any *Briton* to be a Stranger to your Fame; which is known to, and admir'd by as many Nations, as are known to us.

Your LORDSHIP's Glorious Actions in *Germany* and *Flanders*, in the Service of your Country and her Confederates, distinguish'd You among an Army of Generals. Your Conduct was always as Eminent as your Courage: And whether Your LORDSHIP mark'd out an Encampment for a Mighty Host; whether You charg'd the Numerous Squadrons of a Warlike Enemy; whether You commanded the Assault in the most Desperate Siege, or deliberated Coolly in the most Arduous Councils of the War or the State; Your Wisdom and your Valour have been equally Conspicuous, and Your Illustrious Character been every where equally Honour'd and Esteem'd.

It was with the greatest Pleasure, that all King *GEORGE*'s Faithful Subjects saw Your LORDSHIP advanc'd to the Dignity of *PEERAGE*, justly due to your Loyalty to your King, and your Love to your Country. Your LORDSHIP wanted not the Favour of a Faction, to procure it for You; and wou'd, with Disdain, have refus'd the

DEDICATION. iii

the Offer of it in a Crowd, and to serve a Turn. Your Generous Soul would have scorn'd a Title, which was the Gift of a *Corrupt Minister*. As You had the best Claim to it by your Merit, so was it the Free Reward of a most Grateful and Gracious Prince, whose Throne You had been so highly instrumental to Establish; in putting an End to a Rebellion, which struck at its Foundation.

It has been Your LORDSHIP's Happiness never to have had an Enemy, but what was at the same Time an Enemy to your Country. Your LORDSHIP has always made the Publick Welfare the Guide of your Actions; and those that wish well to the Publick must consequently have the same Good Wishes for Your LORDSHIP. Thus You find the Number of your Friends among the Best and Bravest of Britons; while your Enemies are only to be found among *Traitors* and *Rebels*.

They cannot help Hating, what they cannot help Fearing: For they assure themselves, as long as *Faction* and *Sedition* are at Work, so long will You be always at Hand to defeat and chastise them.

Would

I think

iv DEDICATION.

Wou'd one think it, My LORD, that there shou'd be a Wretch in *Britain*, so vile as to be your Enemy, merely because You are a Friend to the Greatest Hero upon Earth, the Victorious Duke of MARLBOROUGH? Yet such Wretches there are. And why should we wonder at it, in an Age, when the Notions of Good and Evil have been confounded; when Vice has been put in the Place of Virtue; when Religion is sunk into Rebellion; when Liberty has lost its Beauty, and Slavery boasts of its Charms?

The Treatise I presume to lay at Your LORDSHIP's Feet, will expose the Wicked Designs of the Faction, Enemies to the *Revolution*; as they have Respect to an Island, where Your LORDSHIP first took Arms, in Defence of the Church and Liberties of *England* and *Ireland*.

It will there be shewn, that those who declare now against *Revolution-Principles*, did long before fall in with all Measures which strengthen'd the *Popish* Interest in both Kingdoms: And that the Selling us to *France*, and Betraying us to *Rome*, has been the Reigning Scheme ever since the *Restoration*.

Thanks

DEDICATION.

Thanks be to God we have a New Deliverer, and a New Defender of our Protestant Faith; surrounded by most Faithful and Able Ministers, by Wise and Valiant Generals; who has the Prayers of the best Christians, the Hearts of the best People, and the Hands of the best Soldiers in the World, on his Side: While on that of his Enemies, we meet with nothing but Idolatry, Ignorance, Impotence and Despair.

If there is any Thing in these Sheets, which Your LORDSHIP shall think worth your Acceptance, I must impute it to Your LORDSHIP's Affection to the Subject; which, with your Natural Humanity and Goodness, may incline You to overlook the Errors of an Author, whose Design is so Honest, and so Laudable his Endeavours to accomplish it.

I shou'd now take Delight to enter on the more Private Scenes of Your LORDSHIP's Active Life, and speak of the Graces which render your Conversation so desirable to Persons of the Highest Distinction and Worth; but that would be a very vain Attempt, after the Beautiful Picture we have seen of it, carrying with it the Royal Stamp, in that Excellent Preamble to Your LORDSHIP's Patent;

vi DEDICATION

tent ; to which, however, the Truth gives
 as great a Sanction as the Authority.

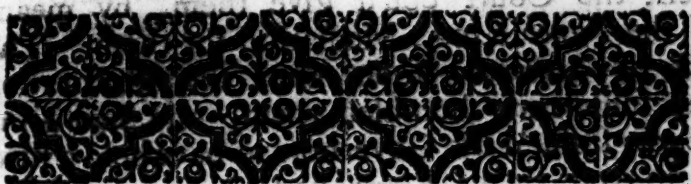
I am, with the most profound Respect,
 Gentles ; who has the Prayers of the best
 Christians, the Hearts of the best People,
 and the Hands of the best Soldiers in the
 World, on his Side : While on that of his
 Enemies we meet with nothing but
 My Lord,
 thy Ignorance, Impotence and Depravity.

If there is any Thing in these Sheets
 which is not **Thy Lord's** ; I must impute it to Your
 Acceptance, I must impute it to Your
 Most Humble,
 which with Your Natural Humanity and
 Goodness, may incline You to overlook the
 Errors of a **Most Obedient**,
 and to render his Endeavours to ac-
 complish it.

AND

I should now take Delight to enter on the
Most Devoted Servant of Your Lordship's
 Active Life, and speak of the Graces which
 render your Conversation so desirable to Per-
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MEMOIRS
OF
IRELAND,
DURING THE
Four Last Reigns.

HAVING in my *Secret Histories of Europe, the Memoirs of Scotland, and Arcana Gallica*, endeavour'd to shew what have been the Ill Designs of the *Papists* and their Abettors in *England, Scotland, and France*, against the Religion and Liberty of *Great Britain*; I shall now take a View of *Ireland*; and we shall there find *Popery* triumphant, even under *Protestant Princes*, at least, those that call'd themselves *Protestants*, and the Defenders of their Faith. In this I have
B respect

Respect chiefly to the Reign of King *Charles II.* when the *Irish* Papists had all the Encouragement the Court cou'd give them, by means of the *French* King's Mediation for them. The *Act of Settlement* soon after the Restoration had sufficiently humbled them, and had King *Charles* suffer'd his Governors to have held a strict Rein over them, *Poper*y had in all probability been in as languishing a Condition by this Time in *Ireland*, as it is in *England*. But that King, who if he was of any Religion was of the *Popish* in his Heart, being fond of ruling as his Brother of *France* did, by *Will* and *Pleasure*, rather than by *Law* and *Justice*, and knowing the *Papists* wou'd flatter him with Arbitrary Power, in return for the Favours he bestow'd upon them, began to practise with them of *Ireland* to carry his Point first there, that by weakening the *Protestant Interest* in that Kingdom, he might give a Mortal Blow to it in *England* also, and establish a *Despotick Government* in the State, on the Ruin of the *Reformation* in the Church.

Nothing better cou'd be expected from his Brother King *James*, who was a profess'd and bigotted Papist; and what Havock he made with the Religion, Laws and Liberties of *Ireland*, will appear in the following Pages treating of his Reign.

When the Tories in *England*, by their Treachery and Artifices at any Time got into Places of Power in the two succeeding Kings; they had immediately an Eye to the *Irish* Papists, as one of their greatest Strengths in the Three Kingdoms. They protected and cherish'd them, and had rendred the Security of the *Irish* Protestants almost as precarious as 'twas in the two preceding

preceding Reigns : By what wicked Means and Instruments I shall now proceed to, set forth.

Scarce was King *Charles II.* settled upon the *English Throne*, when the Papists of *Ireland* began to recover themselves out of the state of Despair wherein they were left by *Cromwell's* Conquest, and to conceive Hopes of regaining their lost Ground. The first Instance of his favouring them was, in the first Act past in the Parliament of *Ireland* : For whereas the Lord *Santry*, then Lord Chief Justice, made an Excellent and Learned Speech to the Privy-Council, to shew the Reasonableness and Justice of trying Titles to Estates by the Common Law, and not leaving the *Irish* Papists to a Court of Claims erected on purpose ; for that they wou'd more easily procure such a Court to be influenced by the Ministry, than Juries of Twelve Protestants each, who shou'd hear the fair Proofs of their Treason and Murders, for which their Estates were forfeited : In Opposition to him appear'd Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, a Knight of the Pope's making, and he was so favourably heard by the Privy-Council, that they got the Act of Settlement pass'd with a Clause for a Court of Claims, which in a great Measure prevented the good Effects of that Act. The King had made Three Worthy Persons Lords Justices of *Ireland*,

Sir *Maurice Eustace*, Lord Chancellor.

The Earl of *Montrath*.

The Earl of *Orrery*.

Who were all zealous for the Protestant Interest ; but the Duke of *York* having got the Duke of

Ormond to his side, soon procur'd their Commis-
 sion to be taken from them, and the Duke of
Ormond to be appointed Lord Lieutenant. This
 Lord, in the Dispute between the Lord *Santry*
 and Sir *Nicholas Plunket* before the Privy Coun-
 cil, joyn'd in with the latter, as did also the
 Earl of *Anglesey*; and their Weight it was which
 carry'd a Clause so fatal to the Security of the
 Protestants of *Ireland*. For with their Estates the
 Papists recover'd their Power, which increas'd
 daily by the Countenance the Duke of *York*
 and his Brother, by his means, gave them.
 When it was debated in the *English* Privy Coun-
 cil, whom to send to *Ireland* to succeed the Lords
 Justices, 'twas resolv'd, that my Lord *Robarts*
 should go thither Lord Deputy. It was ob-
 jected to the Duke of *Ormond*, that he was ac-
 quainted with, and related to several of the
 Chief of the *Irish* Nobility, and consequently,
 that it must be expected that he wou'd not act
 so vigorously against their Interests in this Jun-
 cture, which was reason enough for the Duke
 of *York* to persuade the King his Brother not
 to let the Lord *Robarts* go Deputy to *Ireland*, but
 to send the Duke of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant
 which was accordingly done in the Year
 1662.

It must be own'd, that when my Lord *Or-
 mond* saw what the Duke of *York* drove at by
 protecting the *Irish* Papists, no less than the
 destroying the Protestant Religion and Liberties
 of that Kingdom, wherein he had so large a Pro-
 perty, his Grace disappointed the Duke of *York's*
 Expectation, and appear'd zealous for the In-
 terests of the Protestants.

In the mean time, the Court of Chancery went
 on, deciding Causes in Favour of the Papists.

One

One *Rainsford* was the first in that Commission; Him Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, engag'd on the side of the Papists, and got him to pass Claims for Estates purchas'd by him of such Papists as had no Friends of their own to solicit for them, nor Titles to those Estates. *Talbot* was Agent for the Irish Papists at the Court of England. They rais'd Money amongst them to support him and his Credit there, and to enable him to manage *Rainsford* as he pleas'd. When a Cause appear'd very black before the Commissioners of Claims, *Talbot* got recommendatory Letters from the Ministers in England, to those Commissioners, to pass the Claims founded upon it. Nay, so partial were they, that when any Papists who had prov'd their Innocence in *Oliver's* Court of Claims, came before this to have their Titles pass'd, they declar'd them guilty, purely in Opposition to *Cromwell's* Commissioners. This Partiality went so far, that the Knight of *Kerry*, a Catholick, who had been very firm to the English Interest, and instrumental in saving many Protestants, having for this reason had his Estate restor'd to him by *Oliver*, these Commissioners wou'd have taken it from him, had he not got a Clause enter'd in an Act of Parliament, to except his Title out of their Commission, and to confirm it to him.

When the Rebellion of some of the Claimers cou'd not be deny'd, nor their Guilt receive any Palliation, the greater Men among them took their Claims to themselves, and by their Interest at Court got Titles to their Estates confirm'd by the Commissioners. The Earl of *Clancarry*, the Earl of *Clanricard*, the Earl of *Carlingford*, the Lord *Castle Dillon*, and many more pass'd their

Claims for twice more than ever they had before the Rebellion : And yet these Commissioners were *stanch Churchmen*, Protestants of the High-flying Order, such rare ones as *Higgins* and *Phipps* in our Times ; their Zeal for the Church of England was flaming, and so was their Love to the Papists. Very consistent Creatures these in their Principles.

Whereas by the Act for paying of Quit-Rent to the Crown for all Forfeited Lands, the English in some Places paid as much as those Lands were worth, the Papists were not only eas'd, but for the most part got Grants of Remissions, by means of the Duke of York. Tho' these Things do not seem immediately to strike at the Reform'd Religion ; yet that it did wound it, will be demonstrated by the Report of a Judicious Author, of that Nation, who writing of these Things at the Time they were doing, has these Expressions.

To this height had the Popish Design advanced it self, at a Juncture when the English Interest seem'd not only to carry the Preeminence, but even to have reach'd the Meridian of her Triumph at Court ; and tho' it was believ'd upon the King's Restoration there cou'd not have been the Twentieth Part of Ireland gain'd from the English ; yet what with the Thirds taken at one blow from the English, and by *Nominees*, and other Stratagems of State, there was almost one half of the Kingdom in Value lost, notwithstanding at the same time the most Innocent of the Irish were depriv'd of their Estates, and the greatest Rebels got more than their own. This was the first Step advanced for the Introduction of Popery into that Kingdom ; and notwithstanding the small Progress it had then seemingly made, it so far encourag'd, even in the

Time

Time of its Infancy, the most considerable of the Irish, as so often intimate to the English, that in a short time the Protestants and they must be of one Religion.

Upon this, I have read the following Story: That in the Year 1668. Talbot, Brother to Tyrconnel, and Titular Archbishop of Dublin, landing at a Place call'd the Skerish, within Twelve Miles of that City, was very hospitably entertain'd by one Captain Coddington, at whose House he lodg'd all Night. The next Morning he took him aside, and after the most affectionate Expressions of Kindness, ask'd him *What Title he had to that Estate*, for that he observ'd he had expended considerably upon its Improvement. Coddington answer'd, *'Twas an Old Estate belonging to the Earl of Twomond*. Talbot reply'd, *That's nothing, it belong'd to the Church, and wou'd be taken away*. He then advis'd him to lay out no more upon it, but get what he could, and desert it.

The Duke of Ormond having given many Causes of Distaste to the Duke of York, and his Papists, by his Conduct in Ireland, they resolv'd to get him remov'd from the Government; and to procure it, did their utmost to revive an old Animosity between him and the Duke of Buckingham, then in Favour with the King. They found Means to accomplish their Ends, and the latter fell in with those that were for sending a new Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. The Person they pitch'd upon, was the Lord Robarts, whose Temper they knew to be such, as would prompt him invidiously to inspect into, or create Faults in the Government of the Duke of Ormond; especially after he had been formerly

merly disappointed of the same Post, in Favour of the Duke, and had conceiv'd on that Account, an irreconcilable Prejudice against him. Besides, he was of a vindictive Nature, and would be sure to revenge upon Ormond's Friends, the Injury he thought he had done him himself. Now those Friends of Ormond, being, at that time, Friends to the Protestant Interest in Ireland, any Governor, who would take care to mortify them on any Account, was acceptable to the Popish Party. But when he came to Ireland, he did not let his Resentment prevail over his Principles, which were Protestant. He acted like a good Governor, and good Englishman, and was preparing Matters for a thorough Reformation in that Kingdom, by discountenancing every Person and Thing, which gave Countenance to Popery. So the Papists got him remov'd in half a Years Time, and the Lord Berkley was sent Deputy in his Room; a Man, of whose Inclinations to their Interest, says the above-mention'd Author, the Popish Party had the most convincing Instances. Of this Colonel Talbot was so sensible, that no sooner was the Lord Berkley arriv'd in Ireland, than he leaves the Court of England, and follows him thither, as looking upon his Presence more necessary at Dublin, than at London; and that he could do the Papists more Service at Home, than there was such a Deputy there, than Abroad. He did not appear publicly, but retir'd to a House Three Miles from Dublin, where, with his Brother, the Ticular Archbishop, and others of the Faction, he held secret Councils for advancing their Cause. In this they were assisted

assisted by Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the new Lord Lieutenant, who often came privately to them. This Man was the same the Duke of *York* got to be sent to *France*, to adjust some Differences between the Courts of *England* and *France*, about the Capture of *English* Ships by *French* Privateers; and he was so far from getting Satisfaction for the Damages the *English* Merchants had sustain'd, that he serv'd only to increase it, by plundering them himself, taking Bribes from them to do their Business, and then abandoning their Interests to the *French* so shamefully, that upon many repeated Complaints against him, the Court was forc'd to recall him. He was not a profess'd Papist, but just such another Churchman as *Phipps*, and the rest of *Sacheverell's* Advocates. He was a stanch *Tory*, and an inveterate Enemy to Law, Liberty, and Fanaticism.

The Steps that this Governor, and his Secretary took, agree so exactly with the Measures taken by *Phipps*, and his Masters, lately, that one may be sure the End they all drove at was the same, to establish *Tyranny* and *Idolatry* in that Kingdom first, and in this afterwards. They first attempted to put the Commissions of Peace into Popish Hands, knowing how much that wou'd influence the People at Elections, and all other Occasions, where their Votes were necessary. They pretended to do this in Performance of a private Treaty between King *Charles* the Second, and the *French* King, in his Exile, by which King *Charles* oblig'd himself, to restore to the *Irish* their Religion, and their Estates. Neither the
Deputy,

Deputy, nor his Secretary, made any Secret of this Treaty, but in prosecuting of it, put the most zealous and bigotted Papists into the Commissions of the Peace; who accordingly behav'd themselves so insolently, and arbitrarily, that they became odious, even to the judicious of their own Party. *Phipps*, when he came to *Ireland*, durst not make profest Papists Justices of the Peace, but he chose for such Commissions, the most suspected Converts; Men, who to disguise their Designs, took upon them the Name of Protestants, but were observ'd to herd still with the Papists, and promote their Interests when it lay in their Power.

What he did with respect to the Corporation of *Dublin*, how he despis'd their Charter, and invaded their Rights, is too fresh in all our Memoirs, to need any Repetition here. The Addresses from several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, make mention of him by Name, as the great Enemy and Persecutor of that Protestant City. He refus'd to confirm the Choice they made of their Magistrates, and would have the Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, submit to the arbitrary Commands of his Masters, or himself. He did his utmost to oblige them not to chuse their Recorder, *Mr. Forster*, for one of their Representatives, and even to have them out him of his Place, to make room for one of his Creatures. This he cou'd not do openly, and by any Colour of Law, and therefore did his Emissaries vilify and insult the worthy Recorder, blacken him in their Reports, and expose him to the Fury of the Rabble. How the Lord *Berkley*,
and

and Sir *Ellis Leighton*, proceeded in the same Courses, I am now about to relate ; that all *Englishmen* may know what Mark to set upon such as shall act in the same manner in the Government of *Ireland*.

The Court had got an Act of Parliament pass'd, about the Year 1670, to enable the Lord Lieutenant, and Privy Council of *Ireland*, to regulate Corporations. 'Twas procur'd under Pretence of removing all such Members of them, as were found to be Popishly inclin'd, but with a real Design to remove all such as were not. The City of *Dublin* being the best Security of the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, the Deputy, and his Secretary, resolv'd to fall first upon the Capital of the Kingdom ; which having dealt with as they wou'd, 'twou'd be easy to manage all other Corporations. After several private Conferences with the Chiefs of the Popish and Tory Party at Court, Orders were sent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of *Dublin*, to call a new Common-Council, which they knew would irritate the Citizens, and perhaps occasion a Tumult. In such Case, they had the *Soldiers* at Command, and might pretend to some show of Reason for governing them by the Sword, and not by Law. The Common-Council then in Being, were compos'd of the Principal Citizens, such as had most Interest in preserving Liberty, as having most Property to lose by the Loss of it. These Men, the Courtiers knew, wou'd never consent to the turning out the Aldermen who were not acceptable to them ; and as there were no hopes of bringing that City under a Popish Government, while the Court of Aldermen consisted

consisted of Men, who had been noted for keeping out Papists from the City Freedom, so they put them upon calling a New Council, whom they hop'd so to Pack, as to get them to do whatever should be requir'd of them. In this they had Two Views; if the Aldermen did obey their Orders, the Citizens would be enrag'd against them, for giving their Assent to so dangerous a Novelty; and if they did not obey their Orders, they might treat them as disaffected to the Government. But the Court of Aldermen giving ready Obedience to their Injunctions, the Deputy, and his Secretary's Emissaries, infus'd into the Populace, an Opinion of the Treachery of Sir *William Davis*, then Recorder of *Dublin*, a Man of great Worth. The chief of these Court Agents, was *Nevil Payne*, afterwards taken up, and thrown into *Newgate* at *London*, for *Coleman's* Plot. He was sent over to *Ireland* by *Coleman*, to assist Sir *Ellis Leighton*, in carrying on the Popish Designs there, and Sir *Ellis* made him his Under-Secretary. This Traytor appear'd in all Publick Places, and his Business was to vilify the Recorder, and those Aldermen that had shewn most Zeal for the Preservation of the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*. He caus'd it to be reported, that Sir *William Davis*, and even the Lord Primate, then also Lord Chancellor, advis'd the Lord *Berkley* to Model the Corporation of *Dublin*; and himself, in all Companies, confirm'd this false Report. By this Means he grew so popular in the City, that he was look'd upon as one of their best Friends, and they made Application to him to be their Agent at Court. They advanc'd Money

Money for him, and gave him a good Sum to present to Sir *Ellis Leighton*, who soon after introduc'd the Lord Mayor, Alderman *Tolly*, and the Two Sheriffs, to the Lord *Berkley*, who did not stick to say, as *Nevil* had done, that the beforemention'd Orders were given by Advice of the Lord Primate, and the Recorder, Sir *William Davis*. This being told to the leading Men among the People, with Insinuations that the Aldermen endeavour'd to break in upon their Liberties, and keep the Government of the City in their own Hands, the Populace, who before lov'd and honour'd them, as Defenders of their Constitution, now exclaim'd against them, as Betrayers of it; and by these Methods, were prepar'd to Elect such Common-Council Men, as were grateful to the Court, and would vote for the Removal of those Aldermen from their Bench, that were ungrateful to them. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, were gain'd by the Courtiers; and where should the Consultation be held for the Management of this difficult Affair, but at Colonel *Talbot's* House; where, besides *Talbot*, were present, his Brother, the Titular Archbishop, Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, *Tolly*, the Lord Mayor, and the Two Sheriffs. Thus here's a Consult between *rank Papists*, and *rank Tories*, by Instructions of a High-Church Deputy, to destroy the Liberties of the City of *Dublin*. For 'twas here resolv'd, that the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, should call a new Common-Council, and that they should turn out the Recorder, and such Aldermen, as were opposite to the *Romish* Party. Pursuant to this Project, a new Common-Council was summon'd by the Authority of the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs

consisted of Men, who had been noted for keeping out Papists from the City Freedom, so they put them upon calling a New Council, whom they hop'd so to Pack, as to get them to do whatever should be requir'd of them. In this they had Two Views; if the Aldermen did obey their Orders, the Citizens would be enrag'd against them, for giving their Assent to so dangerous a Novelty; and if they did not obey their Orders, they might treat them as disaffected to the Government. But the Court of Aldermen giving ready Obedience to their Injunctions, the Deputy, and his Secretary's Emissaries, infus'd into the Populace, an Opinion of the Treachery of Sir *William Davis*, then Recorder of *Dublin*, a Man of great Worth. The chief of these Court Agents, was *Nevel Payne*, afterwards taken up, and thrown into *Newgate* at *London*, for *Coleman's* Plot. He was sent over to *Ireland* by *Coleman*, to assist Sir *Ellis Leighton*, in carrying on the Popish Designs there, and Sir *Ellis* made him his Under-Secretary. This Traytor appear'd in all Publick Places, and his Business was to vilify the Recorder, and those Aldermen that had shewn most Zeal for the Preservation of the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*. He caus'd it to be reported, that Sir *William Davis*, and even the Lord Primate, then also Lord Chancellor, advis'd the Lord *Berkley* to Model the Corporation of *Dublin*; and himself, in all Companies, confirm'd this false Report. By this Means he grew so popular in the City, that he was look'd upon as one of their best Friends, and they made Application to him to be their Agent at Court. They advanc'd Money

Money for him, and gave him a good Sum to present to Sir *Ellis Leighton*, who soon after introduc'd the Lord Mayor, Alderman *Tolly*, and the Two Sheriffs, to the Lord *Berkley*, who did not stick to say, as *Nevil* had done, that the beforemention'd Orders were given by Advice of the Lord Primate, and the Recorder, Sir *William Davis*. This being told to the leading Men among the People, with Insinuations that the Aldermen endeavour'd to break in upon their Liberties, and keep the Government of the City in their own Hands, the Populace, who before lov'd and honour'd them, as Defenders of their Constitution, now exclaim'd against them, as Betrayers of it; and by these Methods, were prepar'd to Elect such Common-Council Men, as were grateful to the Court, and would vote for the Removal of those Aldermen from their Bench, that were ungrateful to them. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, were gain'd by the Courtiers; and where should the Consultation be held for the Management of this difficult Affair, but at Colonel *Talbot's* House; where, besides *Talbot*, were present, his Brother, the Titular Archbishop, Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, *Tolly*, the Lord Mayor, and the Two Sheriffs. Thus here's a Consult between *rank Papists*, and *rank Tories*, by Instructions of a High-Church Deputy, to destroy the Liberties of the City of *Dublin*. For 'twas here resolv'd, that the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, should call a new Common-Council, and that they should turn out the Recorder, and such Aldermen, as were opposite to the *Romish* Party. Pursuant to this Project, a new Common-Council was summon'd by the Authority of the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs

riffs only. The Court of Aldermen sat at the same Time, and being unanimous in their Resolutions, to stand by their own and the City's Rights, the Common-Council could not proceed effectually to answer the Expectations of the Court. For no Act of theirs was good, without the Consent of the Aldermen, whom the Courtiers were in hopes to divide; but this Irregularity rather help'd to unite them, and the Lord Mayor sent to the Lord Deputy for new Instructions, keeping, in the mean while, the Common-Council shut up together. The Lord Deputy hearing what was past, sent Directions to the Mayor, and Sheriffs, that one of the latter, with several of the Commons, should go into the Aldermen's Court, and present a Petition to them, to turn out Sir *William Davis*, and Seven of the Aldermen; which was rejected by the Votes of Two and Twenty Aldermen; Two indigent Brethren only, proving false on this Occasion. The Lord Mayor finding this Method would not do, undertook to manage the Matter without the Aldermen, contrary to all Law. He summon'd a Common-Council privately, and they, in a tumultuous Manner, turn'd out the Seven Aldermen, whom the Court had taken Offence against, and put Seven of the Rabble into their Places. They also made Sir *Ellis Leighson* Recorder. Upon this, Papists were advanc'd into the Common-Council, and not long after, a Plot was discover'd, for destroying all the Protestants in *Ireland*, by a Second Popish Massacre.

I shall give one Instance of the Encouragement Popery met with from this Deputy, and his Creatures.

tures. *Talbot*, the Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, resolving to celebrate a High Mass, on Occasion of the promising Hopes of the Popish Affairs in *Ireland*, apply'd to the Lord Lieutenant for some Hangings of the Castle, Silver Candlesticks, Plate, and other Utenils, necessary for the pompous Celebration of that *Romish Ceremony*. *Sir Ellis Leighton*, was the Man who procur'd these Utenils to be sent him, and he order'd the Messenger to carry with him this Compliment to *Talbot*, *That he hop'd to have High Mass at Christ-Church at Christmas*.

Having made mention of a *Massacre* intended by the Papists, I shall give an Account of it in the Words of an Author, who wrote of the *Irish Affairs*, chiefly from his own Knowledge of the Events there, and I do it, that I may not be charg'd with giving into Visions, and frightening my Readers with Political Chimeras. The Papists and Tories have with great Success endeavour'd to turn all their Plots into Ridicule. And when a courteous Reader comes to that part of History which relates to the Discovery of them, he thinks he cannot maintain his Character of Grave and Wise, unless he shakes his Head, and crys, *There's nothing in it, I must have better Proof to believe it*. To shew such a Man, I think my self, at least, as wise as he, I shall repeat what my Author says of this intended Massacre, and leave it to him to give what Credit to it the fair Relation of it deserves.

“ The Priests, by Directions from their Superiors, says he, order'd their several Congregations at Mass, That at such a Time, every Roman Catholick should fix over their Doors

“ a Cross made of Straw. The People were
 “ curious to understand the reason of this Or-
 “ der ; but the matter was carry’d with so much
 “ Secrecy, that the Priests themselves, ’tis be-
 “ liev’d, knew no more than that ’twas design’d
 “ to bless the Peoples Houses. This was ge-
 “ nerally perform’d, and at the same time vast
 “ Multitudes of Priests came from beyond Sea,
 “ who as appears by the Sequel, were better
 “ acquainted with the bottom of this black and
 “ damnable Intrigue, than generally the poor
 “ Ignorant Priests of *Ireland* were, to whom the
 “ Helish Conclave at *Rome* did not think fit
 “ to communicate a Matter of this private and
 “ great Importance : For one of these Foreign
 “ Priests finding Houses which had not Crosses
 “ fix’d at their Doors, he warn’d the People
 “ with great earnestness to put them up, telling
 “ them the Omission of it might be their Ruin,
 “ tho’ he would not name to them the parti-
 “ cular Instance wherein. Another of them,
 “ more open-hearted than the rest, acquaints
 “ a Friend of his with the Design ; which be-
 “ ing by him communicated to another, and
 “ this other acquainting some Friend of his,
 “ at last, by this Relation of it to several
 “ Hands, the Matter was so far divulg’d, that
 “ it was impossible to conceal it any longer
 “ from being publickly known. The Plot was
 “ form’d after the ensuing Manner. This Sig-
 “ nal of the Cross, was to distinguish the Pa-
 “ pists from the Protestants, when the bloody
 “ Massacre was to be perpetrated ; where no
 “ Cross was found on the Door, all within the
 “ House, Men, Women, and Children, were
 “ to be Butcher’d on a certain Day, and their
 “ Houses

“ Houses burnt. Intimation of this Design be-
 “ ing given to the Magistracy, Search was
 “ made, and Croffes accordingly found at most
 “ of the Papists Doors in the Province of *Mun-*
 “ *ster*. They were so little, that the Protestants
 “ took no notice of them. The Priest, who
 “ discovered the Plot first, ran away, and was
 “ no more heard of; and the Government in
 “ *Ireland* was then so extremely bias'd, that no
 “ Encouragement was given to a farther Inspe-
 “ ction into this horrid Conspiracy; such as
 “ were active and industrious in laying it open,
 “ had their Cattle stoln from them, and were
 “ threaten'd to have their Houses burnt; which,
 “ together with the Connivance of the Govern-
 “ ment, put a stop to any farther Discovery.

This happen'd about the Year 1672; and 'tis
 observable, that whenever any staunch Tory had
 the Government of *Ireland*, a Massacre, or a
 Conspiracy for a Massacre is his Attendant.
 When *Strafford* had, by his encouraging the
 Papists, put it into their Heads to throw off their
 Subjection to *England*, and Murder all the *En-*
glish they could come at, immediately follow'd
 the grand Rebellion, and the Sacrifice of
 200000 Protestants to *Romish* Revenge; and
 what may be the Consequence of trusting such
 Men as *Leighton*, or *Phipps*, with the Manage-
 ment of Affairs in *Ireland*? who can think of it
 without trembling? for they both of 'em
 encourag'd the Papists as much as *Strafford*
 did.

The *Irish* Protestants had Reason to be
 alarm'd at these Proceedings of the Court,
 with Reference to the Corporation of *Dublin*,
 who sent Sir *William Davis* to *London*, to repre-

sent to the King a State of their Grievances: Sir *William* apply'd himself to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and set forth the Conduct of the Lord *Berkley* so amply, that that Earl swore the Lord Lieutenant is a Mad-Man. Tho' the Discovery of the Plot was suppress'd, as has been said, yet the Noise of it rais'd great Clamours in *England*, especially when Sir *William Davis's* Errand was known here; and the *English* were so generally offended with the Lord *Berkley's* Government, that the Court were oblig'd to remove him, and the Earl of *Essex* was sent to *Ireland* to supply his Place as Lord Lieutenant; and his Lordship carry'd himself with so much Prudence and Courage, that the Protestant Interest did not suffer during his Government, notwithstanding the Papists continu'd their Designs against it. The greatest Attempt they made of that kind, was in endeavouring by the Duke of *York's* Interest, to get the Revenues of *Ireland* to be Farm'd out to Papists; by which Means they wou'd become Masters of all the Sea-Ports, and have 1500 Officers in Pay, fit for their Purpose, and at their Devotion. They durst not undertake this Matter directly, but by Side Winds; and to that End they engag'd Sir *William Petty*, a Man of a great Estate, to appear as a Farmer, to set aside the Protestant Farmers, and get Papists put in their Places. Sir *William* was no Papist, but a stanch *Tory*, and that the *Irish* thought would do their Business as well. They promis'd him, if he would join with such Men as they would recommend to him, he should have their Interest with the Duke to remove the old Farmers, and put himself, and new ones, in their Places. Thus would all the Money of *Ireland* pass through

through Popish Hands, and the Temptation of Gain, prevail'd upon Sir William Petty, to give into this Project. The Earl of Essex foreseeing what would be the Consequences of it, oppos'd it as much as consist'd with his own Safety; for he found the Duke of York was at the bottom, and knew that all Opposition to him was in vain, unless manag'd with great Art, which he experienc'd more particularly, when he heard, that for his obstructing the new Farm, his Removal was talk'd of at Court; so he got Leave to go thither, leaving the Lord Primate, and the Earl of Granard, Lords Justices. When the Earl of Essex came to London, he made his Court to the Duke of York so successfully, that he got into his good Graces; an unquestionable Proof of which, was the Confidence he put in him; for thinking himself sure of him, he made no Scruple to tell him freely, he expected he would forward the new Farm, and give his Protection to the Agent for it, Thomas Sheridan, of whom more hereafter.

Sir William Petty, and his Brother Farmers, having thus gain'd their Ends, they fell to the Work they were set upon, which was, to employ Papists in all the Branches of the Revenue, which they did accordingly, and made even Priests Collectors of the Chimney-Money. The Earl of Essex returning to his Post in Ireland, saw all this, but cou'd not tell how to prevent it, without losing the Duke of York's Favour, which at that Juncture was necessary for him to keep in his Office, as that was necessary for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion in Ireland; at last he thought of a way to put a stop to those dangerous and violent Proceedings of theirs, by disputing the Security they had

given. This he did not think fit to appear in himself, but put the Lord Granard upon it, and he mov'd at the Council Board, that *Inspection should be made into the Security of the Farmers.* The Privy Counsellors fell in with this Motion, which the Earl of Essex seem'd to oppose, and gave Notice of what he himself had concerted with his Confidants, to the Duke. Thus in Appearance, he himself put a stop to that Inspection, which was mov'd by his own Procurement. However, the Motion prepar'd the way for such an Inspection, when the Clamour against the Farmers increas'd, and with good Reason; for what said Sir William Pery himself of them, *They were Men pick'd up in the Streets, with this Disadvantage, that take the first Seven Men you meet, and they shall exceed these for every Thing but Cheating.* The Cry against them for running away with the Kingdom's Money, increasing daily, the Earl was forc'd to agree with the Privy-Council, and as if over-born with their Importunity, consents that a Memorial against the Farmers should be sent to Court. The Charge was so flagrant, the Grievances they occasion'd to the Subject so notorious, their Poverty so apparent, that a Commission of Inspection could not be deny'd. Upon the Receipt of which, the Earl made such Commissioners, as by keeping a strict Eye upon the Farmers, prevented their doing the Mischief they intended. *Sheridon*, their Agent, finding their Designs were all frustrated by this Commission, threw up his Agency, and went to Court, to represent the Matter to the Duke, with whom he had not been long, before his Secretary *Coleman*, whose Confident and Creature

ture *Sheridon* was, receiv'd the Reward of his Treasons at *Tyburn*, and *Sheridon* was brought to the Bar of the House of Commons upon his Knees, for speaking in *Coleman's* Favour.

This bold Rogue had the Impudence to tell the House, that he was Antiently call'd O. *Sheridon*, and descended in a right Line, from the Kings of *Ulster*; that his Father had lost a great Estate by the War, and many more such notorious Lies: For in Truth, he was the Son of an honest Protestant Minister, who, far from being of the Royal Blood of *Ulster*, was taken into a Bishop's House when he was a Boy, to be his Turnspit. The Bishop finding him of a docible Temper, put him to School, and had him instructed in the Protestant Religion, the Boy having been bred a Papist. When he had made some small Progress in Learning, a poor Living fell, which the Bishop, after he had Ordain'd him, gave him, and he became so zealous a Protestant, that when most of the Protestant Ministers fled their Country, from the Rage of the Papists upon the Rebellion, this good Man, in the County of *Cavan*, staid with as many of his Flock as would stay with him; and neither the Arguments, nor the Threats of the Papists all around him, could prevail with him to renounce his Religion. When *Oliver* heard of this Man's Behaviour, he not only order'd him a Pension for his Maintenance, but a Provision for his Three Sons in the College of *Dublin*, where they all improv'd themselves to an eminent Degree of Learning and Parts: *Thomas Sheridan*, one of them, took Priests Orders upon him, which afterwards he relinquish'd, and got a Place in the *Custom-House*, being

being made Collector of *Cork*. 'Twas suppos'd he relinquish'd the Protestant Religion, with the Order of Priesthood, turn'd Papist, and was put into that Place by the Procurement of the Papists. That Port lying very commodious, for carrying on their Correspondence with *France*, *Spain*, &c. from whence Drovers of Priests pass'd to and fro on their Treasonable Messages and Missions. While he was Collector of *Cork*, the Traytor affected a more than ordinary Zeal for the Reform'd Religion, in so much that he was look'd upon as a Sort of *Fanatick*. This he did to curry Favour with the old Farmers, who were of that Party, so stigmatiz'd by the Tories, out of spite to them for the Love of Liberty, and the Purity of Religion; which Love of theirs, in the Opinion of their Opponents, was no better than Frenzy. When the old Farmers were about to part with their Contract, *Sheriden* fell in with the new, as has been hinted, remov'd from *Cork* to *London*, and there offer'd his Service to *Coleman*, who introduc'd him to his Master, the Duke. *Coleman* finding him to be a Cunning Active Fellow, recommended him to the Papists in *Ireland*. And thus having thrown off the Mask of Protestantism, he became in great Credit, and was one of their most busy and successful Emissaries.

The Duke of *York* being inform'd, that the Obstacles the new Farmers met with, came primarily from the Lord Lieutenant; he conceiv'd that Hatred to the Earl of *Essex* which prov'd so fatal to him at the end of his Life. He never left importuning his Brother to remove him, till his removal was resolv'd upon.

The

The Duke of *York* promising him to get a Man for *Essex's* Successor, who shou'd lay down a considerable Sum for the Employment. *Talbot* wou'd have had the Earl of *Burlington* made Lord Deputy, and the Duke was for it, but that noble Lord wou'd not part with a Penny ; and tho' *Talbot* was related to his Family, he did not care to accept of the Post at his Recommendation ; and the Duke not being able to get a Man to his Mind, who wou'd advance any Money, it was the Occasion of the Earl of *Essex's* being continu'd longer than was intended.

About this Time, the *Irish* being in despair of carrying their Point by Artifice, had recourse to their Protector the *French King* to lend them Arms to do it. King *Charles*, as I have observ'd, had in his Exile, made that King Promises of Favour to the *Irish* Papists, and now they put their Protector upon demanding the Performance of those Promises ; which the King not being able to do, for fear of giving Umbrage to the *English*, the *French* were to land Forces in *Ireland*, to oblige the Government to the Performance of those Promises. The Earl of *Tyrone*, Lord *Brittas*, and others, were to join them at their Landing. The Intrigue was kept from King *Charles*, the Duke of *York* undertaking to qualify the King, if any Discovery should be made ; as it was by some *Irish* Men, and the King was hardly prevail'd with not to believe it. His Majesty thought he was on too good Terms with the *French King*, for him to undertake such a Business without his Privy ; and if the latter had by this Means got an Opportunity to possess himself of *Ireland*,

'tis not to be doubted, the *Irish* would have found their Auxiliaries their Masters. It is observable, that this Conspiracy was on Foot, at the same Time with the *Popish Plot*. The Lord *Pratt*, and others, made their Escape to *France*; the Earl of *Tyrone* was taken, and committed to the *Gatehouse*, and *Talbot* to the *Castle of Dublin*.

As to *Talbot's* Share in the Conspiracy, to Land a *French Army*, it was sworn before the Parliament, the 4th of *April*, 1679, by *Everard*, with these Particulars: That about the Year 1672, his Brother, *Peter Talbot*, the Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, coming from *England* to *Paris*, was recommended to him by Colonel *Talbot*, his Brother, to be introduc'd to the *French King*, by Means of the *Mareschal de Bellefond*. That *Everard*, then Agent for the *English Forces* in the *French Service*, did carry him to the *Mareschal de Bellefond*, by whom he was receiv'd very favourably, and introduc'd to the King, with whom he was in Conference near half an Hour; and the Bishop told him, one of the Propositions he had to make the *French King*, was, A way for him to relieve the *Catholicks* in their present Extremities and Persecutions; to undertake their Protection; to contrive Means to Arm the *Irish*, and secure a Sea-Port Town in *Ireland*, for the *French Army* to Land at; which Proposition, he said, the *French King* was mightily pleas'd with, that he commended it immediately to Sir *Robert Welsh*, then at *Paris*, who telling *Talbot* of it, *Everard* was Bully'd by him, and on his Arrival in *England*, shut up in the *Tower*, as *Talbot* told him he should be; where the Lieutenant, Sir *John Robinson*, threaten'd him

him with the *Rack*, unless he would accuse the Duke of *Monmouth*, who then began to gain the Affections of the People. *Everard* discover'd this Conspiracy to *Robinson*, who said, 'Twas a Trifle. But it agrees exactly with the Evidence of *Robert Burck*, and other *Irishmen*; and the Persons being alive to whom he had made this Matter known, I cannot think *Everard* would have had the Impudence, if it had not been true, to appeal to them, as he does, for the Truth of it; and to prove that this Discovery was not calculated for that Juncture, in which several such Fellows made their Market by their Villanies.

But because there have been great Pains taken to Redicule this Plot, I shall here insert the Debates about it in the House of Commons.

January 6. 1681.

Cob. Birch made a Report of the Informations relating to the *Irish-Plot*, and several *Irish* Witnesses were examined. And a Message from the Lords about the *Irish-Plot* read.

Resolved, By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that they do declare, that they are fully satisfy'd That there now is, and for divers Years last past hath been, a horrid and treasonable Plot contriv'd and carry'd on, by those of the Popish Religion in Ireland, for Massacring the

the English, and subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient establish'd Government of that Kingdom, to which their Lordships desire the Concurrence of this House.

Sir William Jones.

Mr. Speaker,

SIR, the Evidence which you have heard at the Bar, and the Report which hath been read, as to the Popish-Plot in Ireland, is not only a plain Discovery of the dangerous and deplorable Condition of the Protestants in Ireland, but a great Confirmation of what Dr. Oates and the rest of the Witnesses have said as to the Plot here. So that now no Man can have any Excuse for not believing it, but such as are misled by others, who know it too well, because they are in it. I cannot but observe what a Coherence and Agreement there is in the carrying on of these Two Plots. Fitz Gerrard tells you, that in 1662, several Officers were sent into France to get Money for carrying on the Plot. And was it not in 1662, that we begun here with the Toleration, which gave the first Appearance of Popery to the Parliament? In 1672, we broke the Triple-League, and entred into a strange Correspondence with France; then they actually Lifted and Armed a great Number of Soldiers, which were first to go into France, and then to come back to carry on the Plot. In 75, and 76, all the Clergy in Ireland, said the Duke of York should be King in 78. And Fitz Gerrard deposeth, That he then told the same to several Persons, as he had since proved it before Sir John Davis, Secretary of State in Ireland. And doth it not appear by the Witnesses here, that they intended

intended about that Time to cut off the King? It appears that they intended to Massacre most of the Protestants, and to conquer others, and that this they hop'd to do by Assistance expected from *France*, of Men and Arms, as soon as that King should be disengag'd of the War he was engag'd in with the Confederates. And doth not this agree not only with Dr. Oates his Discovery, but *Præce's* too? And did we not, after we had assisted the *French* with about 12000 Men, most *Irish*, and help'd them in the carrying on of that War, send Plenipotentiaries to *Nimeguen*, in order to make up a general Peace, that so he might be at Leisure about that Time, that the said Party expected his Assistance; and that the *Clergy* had told *Fitz Gerrard*, that the Duke should be King. Upon the Discovery of the *English Plot*, the King, Lords, and Commons, declared it a horrid, damnable, execrable Plot: Now upon the Discovery of this *Irish Plot*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal have declar'd the same of it. But to what Purpose I know not, unless it be to discover the Strength of the *Popish* Party in that, after you know your Danger, and have declared it in Parliament, yet that their Interest is strong enough to baffle ours, and to prevent all manner of Remedies or future Security; nay, and to make you eat your own Declarations up again, and be ashamed (if possible) that ever you made such. This hath been the Effect of the Declarations so often made in *Parliament*, as to the *English Plot*: And I am afraid, that this Declaration that hath been read, is all that will be done for the Security of the Protestants in Ireland. For

notwith-

notwithstanding all these Discoveries, which are the greatest that ever were, in a Case of so great a Conspiracy, such is their Influence and Authority, that they have not only saved their own Party from being any way weakned, (unless by those few that have been hang'd) but have gain'd a great Number of Protestants to join and contribute as much to the carrying on of their Design as they can desire. The Truth is, Sir, England can never be destroy'd but by itself; and the Papists well know this must be done by dividing us. If ever there were a Popish Miracle, it is in this, that seeing the Knife is so near our Throats, they should be able so to infatuate us, that instead of making any Preparation to prevent them, we court all manner of Divisions and Animosities amongst our selves, and cherish every Project of that Party that tends to our Ruin, with as much Earnestness as if it tended to our Safety. But though this Witchcraft of theirs hath had a strange Power with People without Doors, yet I hope it will never have any Operation here to prevent us from doing our Endeavours. And therefore seeing by this Discovery, we find again that all the Plot centers in the Duke of York, let us, after we have agreed to what the Lords have sent down, make a Declaration to this Purpose: *That the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the Expectation which that Party have of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest Encouragement to the Popish-Plot in Ireland, as well as here.*

Sir Henry Capel.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the Irish Plot doth agree with the English Plot in several Circumstances

stances before it broke out, so afterwards in the Prosecution of it. Were not the Witnesses infamitated and discourag'd, or their Evidence consum'd, or turn'd into Ridicule? And was not the same done here? Were not some of them, to prevent their Evidence, ship'd off, and never heard of more; and others strangely tormented? And doth not that in some Measure answer with the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey? Did not Sir John Davis, and others in great Offices there, do all that they could to stifle the Discovery of the Plot? And have not many of our Ministers done the same here? Were there not strange Endeavours used to put off the Trials of such as were accused about the Plot, or to quit them when they came to a Trial? And have not the same Endeavours been used here, as to the Lords in the Tower, and the Trial of Wakeman, and many others? And after all these Discoveries, what have we done, or what are we doing to secure ourselves against this Party? Truly, Sir, I know not of any Thing. But on the other Hand can tell you, that great Things are doing to carry on the Plot. I see, that in order to discover the mighty Power of that Party, Two Parliaments have already been dissolv'd without doing any Thing against Popery, and I am afraid that this will have no better Success. And in the Intervals of Parliaments, I observe, That all Heads are at Work to persuade the People out of all the Particulars of the Plot, and allow them only a general Notion, that the Papists would bring in their Religion if they could, but wishal endeavour to persuade them that it is impossible: That so they need not be afraid of it; and that the Fears and Jealou-

Jealousies of Popery are created by ill Men, that have a Design upon the Government, or Fanaticks, that have a Design upon the Church, and that all will end in *Forty One*. I observe also, that the Witnesses that have come in to discover the Plot, are more and more defam'd and discourag'd; and all others in favour of Popery, very much cherish'd. And will not such Proceedings, and such Opinions as these, if well infused into the People, be serviceable to that Party, not only by dividing thereby the Protestant Interest, but by *securing to themselves this Party so misled; to give them Assistance in the Disguise they will assume*; until they have conquer'd any Party that may oppose 'em, and be able to stand on their own Bottom? And may they not go a great way to mislead a great many credulous Persons, especially if Parliaments be kept off, and the *Press and Pulpit too* (though I hope better) *should be directed that way*; And as these Opinions will give a greater Encouragement and Strengthening to that Party for the carrying on of their Plot, and for all manner of new Contrivances; so will the Enterainment the Discoveries of the last Plot have met with, secure the *Papists* of ever having more Discoveries made of what they are transacting. And will not the Course that is taken of putting into all Offices, either of Trust or Profit, no Persons but such who they find will thus be misled, either by their Ambition, because *they see it is the only way to Preferment*; or because they have not Understanding to see these *Designs at a Distance*, be a great help to them also? I think, Sir, the carrying on these Things thus by such Authority, after the Discovery of such

a Plot,

a Plot, and the contrary Endeavours of three Parliaments, are great Things to encourage the going on of the Plot, after they have first reduced the State of Popery to the same Condition it was in before the Plot broke out: that so it may creep on upon us again, as they shall think may be most for their Advantage. And although I will not undertake to Fathom the Depth of Divine Providence; yet I am afraid, if we should grow careless to secure our selves after such supernatural Helps, we may therein provoke God Almighty to be angry with us. And because amongst the Inventions that are afoot, there is much noise made about the Town of Forty One, I cannot but observe, that there is something in the Evidence of the Irish Plot that agrees with Forty One. Then there was a great Massacre in Ireland, as now intended: I have some Reason to remember, with Sorrow and Indignation the Miseries of Forty One; but I am afraid the Discourse of those Times, is in this Conjecture made use of to bring on the like Miseries again upon us, and not in order to prevent them; because I find, that those that talk most of preventing the Effect, carry on the Cause as much as they can; which to me is a Contradiction. I am of Opinion, that the Endeavours that were used before Forty One, do possess the People against Parliaments, and of the King's Power to raise Money without Parliaments, was the great Cause of our Miseries in Forty One. And I know no good Reason why we should not suspect those who carry on the same Designs now (tho' with some little Variation) should not endeavour to bring about some Alteration in the Government again as well as those, that shew it in nothing but opposing of Popery; tho'

tho' the great Power that Party have in representing Matters, have made it to be dangerous to the State. But I see we are like to have little Assistance to prevent the carrying on of these Designs in these Shapes, they must have their Course. I do agree, that we may do well to add to this Resolution of the Lords, That the Duke's being a Papist, and their Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest Hopes and Encouragement to the Popish Plot in Ireland, as well as in this Kingdom. And if the Lords Spiritual and Temporal should agree to it, I hope we may in time do something against Popery: For it would be very hard, if after they have agreed in the Cause, they should deny to join with us in the Remedy. And seeing the Bishops have agreed, there is a Popish Plot in Ireland, I hope the Clergy will believe there hath been one in England, and consider the danger of a Popish Successor and Popish King, and preach and pray against it: And then I shall conclude they are in good earnest against Popery, and that we should soon be able to Vanquish this common Enemy. And then I think it would be the Interest of the Nation to settle Matters relating to the Church, not only so as to stand against all Opposers, but to be more beautiful and triumphant than ever.

Brigstock Hartford, Esq;

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Solomon saith, there is no new thing under the Sun; but whoever will but consider what great Endeavours have been used to stifle these Plots, and how few to prevent the like for the future, or the danger arising from them, must conclude, that the like
was

was never done in such a Case before. All the Plots center in the *Duke*: What is done with him? He is sent into *Scotland*, to make an Interest there; that so the Government of that Kingdom, with an Army of 22000 Men already settled, and what more may be got, may be as ready at his Command, as the Strength of this Nation is here. A strange way of weakening an Enemy! And doth the *Duke's* Interest go backward here in his Absence? No, all those about the King are of his placing: And tho' we think him in *Scotland*, yet he is here too; as if there were Transubstantiation in the Case. I do not understand how the great Noise of *Forty One*, that is now made, can tend to the Securing us against *Popery*; but the fear of that (which I am sure I have a great deal of Reason to remember) may several ways be used for the bringing in of *Popery*: And I have the more Reason to fear so, because I am inform'd that the *Justice of Peace* who hath writ so many Books to fill the Peoples Heads with Notions about *Forty One*, is now fled, because of Evidence given before the Lords of his being a *Papist*. I wish we could do something against the common Enemy, whose Power is so great, as bids Defiance to us; and then I shall be ready to contribute my poor Endeavours as earnestly against *Forty One Men*, if they be not so high as the Moon: For I must confess, as yet I cannot find them out here below. And if these Churchmen would but join with us in ridding us of *Popery*, I would also join in preventing their Fears of Fanaticks. Sir, I think you have a very good Motion made for a good Addition to the Lords Vote, as to the *Duke of*
D York's

York's being the Cause of the Irish Plot also: I pray let it be added, that so we may see whether the Bishops will do any Thing against the Duke, or no; for if they should, happily the Clergy may come in time to consider the Danger of a Popish Successor, and Popish King; and Preach and Pray against it, as much as against Fanaticks. If not, and the Doctrine be true which I have often heard, that there is no Distinction between the Duke's Interest and Popish Interest, I am afraid we are in a bad Condition.

Resolv'd, That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Vote, with the Addition of these Words; That the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the Expectation of his coming to the Crown, hath given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the horrid Popish Plot in this Kingdom of England.

A Motion being made, and seconded, for the Impeaching of the Earl of Tyrone;

Resolved, That Richard Poure, Earl of Tyrone, in the Kingdom of Ireland, be Impeach'd of High-Treason.

Ordered, That the Lord Dursley go up to the Bar of the Lords, and Impeach him of High-Treason, in the Name of this House, and of all the Commons of England; and do pray that he may be committed to safe Custody.

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The Characters of Sir *William Jones*, and Sir *Henry Capell*, are too well known to need any *Encomium* here ; and it is not likely, Men of such excellent Sense and Knowledge of the World, should be impos'd upon by Visions and Chimera's.

We shall in the Sequel of this Treatise see, that the Duke of *York* when King *James II.* went a little farther, and made a sort of Bargain and Sale of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the *French* King.

The Lord *Berkley*, upon his being recall'd from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, was taken into Favour by the Duke of *York*, for his good Services there to the Papists ; and some time after sent Ambassador to *France*, taking along with him his trusty Secretary Sir *Ellis Leighton* ; who, as I have observ'd, sold the Interests of the *English* Merchants to the *French*, and being complain'd of when he return'd to *England* by those injur'd Merchants ; he had the Impudence to tell them before King *Charles* and the Privy-Council, He wonder'd how those Merchants durst presume to speak any Thing against the Greatest King in Europe. For which Indecent Expression, he was committed. I mention this, to shew how dear the *French* King has ever been to the Party, that has been endeavouring to enslave us ever since the Restoration.

The Proofs of the Designs of the Duke and the Papists to introduce Popery in *Ireland*, being too numerous not to alarm both King and Council, the King then affecting the Character of a good Protestant, the Duke of *Ormond* was again sent Lord Lieutenant, in the

Year 1678. The Duke of York knew that Ormond's Zeal for the Church of England, his Courage and Interest, wou'd spoil all their Projects; however, he was afraid of giving any Opposition to his being sent thither. But to hinder the good Effect of his Commission, he got Forces to be rais'd in Ireland, under pretence of Foreign Service. These Levies were all Native Irishmen, and excepting some few English Officers, (such Protestants as Charnock or Parkins,) those that Commanded them were as Errant Papists as themselves. When the Duke of Ormond came over, he would not allow any Arms to be given them, and they were exercis'd with Sticks; but the Popish Plot breaking out soon after, they were disbanded.

The Duke of Ormond gave such Encouragement to the English, by his Care of their Interest, that it began to flourish, Trade increas'd, and the Prosperity of the Protestants made the Papists apply to their Friend the Duke of York, to think of Means to put a stop to the thriving Condition of the English in Ireland. Therefore, as soon as he came from Scotland, whither Sheridan had follow'd him, he got a Court of Grace set up, under Pretence of securing the Titles of the English from any future Discoveries, by granting them new Patents, on Proof of their Possession and Payment of Composition-Money. The real Design of this Novelty, was, to make a narrow Inspection into all Men's Titles, and discover thereby what Advantage they might make of it, in depriving the Protestants of their Possessions, and restoring them to the Irish, when Opportunity should offer. Great Sums of Money were rais'd by this Inven-

Invention, and the Instruments made use of were Protestants, of that Denomination which is now in such Credit among us, *High-Churchmen*. Judge *Wrotb* was the main Contriver of this Mischief; and the Lawyers and Attorneys, who were made Commissioners in the Courts of Grace, were Tools to the Papists; who always did their Business in Ireland, as well as in England, by *Stanch Churchmen*. These Commissioners broke in upon the Act of Settlement in several Instances, particularly in that relating to Fairs, Markets, and Manors; allowing no Patents to be good for them, but what pass'd thro' their Court, contrary to the Tenor of the Act. The Duke of *Ormond* saw thro' this Design, and labour'd to have it effectually prevented, by calling a Parliament; but the Court wou'd not hear of it. He went to England, on Purpose to solicit the Affair in Person, leaving his Son the Earl of *Arran*, Lord Deputy, but he could not prevail; and, as he said himself, when he came to Ireland, return'd with a heavy Heart to his Government: Where he had not been long before King *Charles* Died, and was succeeded by his Popish Brother *James* II. to the unexpressible Joy of the *Irish*.

The first Thing to be done for the Advancement of their Interest was, to remove the main Obstacle to it, the Lord Lieutenant. They knew he was generally esteem'd and belov'd in the Three Kingdoms; His Merit unquestion'd, and his Loyalty unsuspected. They cou'd not therefore have any Pretence to displace him, but his Age; and tho' he was still as Vigorous in Body

and Mind, as a Person of his Years cou'd hope to be ; yet they gave out, that he decay'd both in Body and Mind, and was incapable of Governing. His Grace had Notice of what was said against him at Court ; and having appointed a Dinner for all the Officers of the Army of the New Royal Hospital near *Dublin*, he went and din'd with them : When Dinner was over, he took a large Glass of Wine in his Hand, and bid the Waiter fill it to the Brim ; then standing ~~up~~, he call'd to all the Company, *Look here, Gentlemen, They say at Court I am now become an old dotting Fool ; you see my Hand doth not shake, nor does my Heart fail ; nor doubt but I will make some of them see their Mistake : And so he Drank the King's Health.* Before his Removal, he receiv'd Orders to regulate the Privy-Council ; which he delay'd doing, till his Successors were appointed ; and the Lord Primate, and Earl of *Granard* made Lords Justices. The latter had married a Presbyterian, and was thought to be a little inclinable to Presbytery ; which made the Papists the more fond of his being put into the Government, in Hopes that he wou'd act against the Church-Interest, and make a Division among the Protestants. But that Lord did then disappoint them, and for several Years seem'd very Zealous for the Common Interest of all Protestants. Tho' many of the most active of the *English* Privy-Counsellors were remov'd, yet none but Protestants were admitted in their Places, during the Administration of these Lords Justices.

The Papists grew daily more insolent, and repair'd in great Numbers (of all Ranks and Degrees)

Degrees) to *Dublin*. They represented the Protestants as Fanaticks and Rebels; and those Names were some of the best Language they gave them. They loaded them with all manner of Calumnies and Reproaches: In which their Confederates, the *English* Tories, have all along imitated their Example, to give them a Pretext to persecute the Protestants.

At *Leship*, Seven Miles from *Dublin*, the Earl of *Chenrickard*, the Lord *Kenmure*, Colonel *Moor*, and others, upon their Knees, drank Confusion to all Protestants, and their Religion. Information was given of it; and the wiser Sort of their own Party blamed them for their Forwardness, tho' they said nothing of their Impiety.

Indeed the *Irish* could not contain themselves, they were so transported with the Thoughts of having a Popish King. The Duke of *Ormond* told a Friend of his, That nothing could save the *English*, but the Precipitateness of the *Irish*. *Ford* said he, let my Countrymen alone, and they will spoil their own Business. Their Insolence was so insufferable, that it made the Lords Justices weary of their Government; and the Earl of *Granard* wrote to *England*, to be dismiss'd. But the Papists representing him as a Man of very great Interest among the Protestants in the North, where Presbytery prevail'd; and consequently, more likely to be cool in the Defence of the Church of *England*, than a Lord of that Religion, he was continued; King *James* writing him a Letter with his own Hand, full of Promises and Assurances, that nothing should be acted against the Protestant Interest.

This Lord had receiv'd constantly 500 l. a Year from King *Charles* the II^d, to distribute among the Presbyterian Clergy in the North of *Ireland*, even at the same Time that he permitted a Cruel Persecution of their Brethren in *England*.

Upon the Breaking out of the Troubles in the West of *England*, by the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion, some were apt to believe, that the Lord *Granard* was in Suspence whom to declare for. But, says my Author, the Lord *Primate* was a Person of firm and inviolable Loyalty; and his unalterable Steadiness hinder'd the other from deserting.

The Duke of *Monmouth* being defeated, the *Irish* insulted the *English* more than ever, and were continually contriving Plots for their Destruction. One among the rest was as absurd, as it was villanous. Which was, That the Protestants had form'd a Design to Massacre the Papists; tho' the latter were in most Places above One Hundred to One. They carry'd on this Piece of Villany so far, as that the *Vulgar Irish* look'd their Houses in the Night, and fled to their Bogs; pretending they durst not lie in their Beds, for fear of having their Throats cut by the *English*. Several of their Tory Justices of the Peace took Informations from them of this ridiculous Plot, and very gravely sent them to the Lords Justices, who not issuing out Orders to prosecute the pretended Criminals, as the Papists expected, were complain'd of to the King: Who, to gratify the Malice of the *Irish*, sent private Instructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Justices about this Affair. Upon which a Proclamati-

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on was issu'd forth, forbidding all Night-Meetings; tho' the Lord Primate, the Earl of *Granard*, and the Privy-Council knew very well, there were no such Meetings held by Protestants. This Artifice of the *Irish* was to make way for greater Mischief, by preparing Evidences, to bring the most Considerable *Englishmen* into Plots.

The first Man they attack'd, was one Mr. *Moor* of *Clonmel*; who in the Year 1685, was indicted for High-Treason, before Sir *John Mead*, in the Palatinate of *Tipperary*, belonging to the Duke of *Ormond*. This *Moor* was a Person of a great Estate, which made them bend their whole Force against him, in Hopes of the Plunder.

To countenance the Matter, *Talbot*, then Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and General *Maccarty*, came to *Clonmel*, to the Trial; and Sitting upon the Bench, insolently reproach'd the Judge and Jury; *Maccarty* calling the Judge *Fanatick*; and both he and *Tyrconnel* railing at the Duke of *Ormond*, for Employing such a Rogue. Notwithstanding their Influence, *Moor*, and some others that were impeach'd, were acquitted. But such a partial Account of the Trial was sent over to Court, that the King himself question'd the Duke of *Ormond*, how he came to employ such a *Fanatick*? To which the Duke reply'd, He did it in Duty to His Majesty; as believing he could not entrust a better Man, than one of His Majesty's Servants. For Sir *John Mead* had been the Duke of *York's* Attorney-General in Ireland.

About the same Time was *Tyrconnel* made Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief

of the Army in *Ireland*, on purpose to model it. And the better to accomplish his Design, he got the Protestants to be disarm'd. The Pretext was specious. The King and Council wrote to the Lords Justices, 'That there was Reason to believe the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of that spreading Contagion, as to infect many, and delude more. It was not therefore safe for the Kingdom, to have the Arms of the Militia dispers'd abroad; but they would be in a greater Readiness, if they were deposited in several Places of each County.

A Proclamation was publish'd, pursuant to those Instructions. And to make it have the better Effect, the Lord Primate began with the City of *Dublin*. He sent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen; made an Elegant Speech to them, magnifying their unshaken Loyalty in the worst of Times; adding, That their ready Obedience, and prevalent Example on this Occasion, would be of great Service to the King and Kingdom, without any Danger to themselves; for their Arms would be always ready for their Service.

The Citizens were sensible of their Condition; but knowing also 'twas to no purpose to dispute, as to their Obedience; they brought in their Arms.

The Country pursu'd this President. And to render the Design more effectual, the *Irish* gave out, That if any Arms were reserv'd in the Protestants Hands, such Men would be deem'd disaffected to the King and Government; and it would be no Excuse to say, they were their own Arms, and not belonging to the Militia. This frightened many, and operated so

so powerfully, that they deliver'd up all they had, as well their own private Arms, as those that belong'd to the Militia.

Tyrconnel then proceeded to destroy the Army; and began with the Officers, in the same Method as was intended before King *Charles's* Death; displacing all Officers that had been in the Parliament, or *Oliver's* Army; as also the Sons of any such. This the Duke of *Ormond* had had Directions to do, before he was remov'd from the Government; but he made no Progress in it, under Pretence of gaining Time to find them out: For he foresaw, 'twas to make Room for Papists.

When *Tyrconnel* had perform'd this Service, he went to *London*, to represent it to the King. He took with him one *Richard Neagle*, a Cunning Irish Lawyer, whom he Knighted afterwards. This Man was so inveterate an Enemy of the Protestants, that his Appearing at Court was not thought proper: And 'twas some Time, before he could gain Admittance to Kiss the King's Hand; but he was often admitted to Private Conferences, by Father *Pette*, and other Heads of the Popish, Bigotted Faction, who were countenanc'd by the Queen.

The King was not for hasty and rash Methods; and the English Popish Lords were against proceeding too fast in the Revolution of *Ireland*; for that it would spoil the General Interest of the Papists. The Earl of *Down*, the Lord *Bellasis*, and others, understanding *Neagle* was come over, were for sending him packing immediately. But the Jesuited Party hid him; and when he was in his Retirement, they employ'd him to write a Pamphlet, by way of

A Let-

A Letter to a Friend, setting forth the great Injustice of the Act of Settlement. In this Libel he abuses the Memory of King Charles II. which was so resented at first by both *English* and *Irish*, that he disown'd it. Yet afterwards, when he was Speaker of King James's *Irish* Parliament, he pleaded it as his Merit; and the Repeal of that Act, was founded upon his Arguments.

One may very easily imagine, what a dismal Condition the *English* were in in *Ireland*, when their Arms were taken from them, and put into the Hands of the *Irish*; that they look'd upon their Estates, Lives and Liberties, as precarious Enjoyments; and that they were at the Mercy of their old Enemies and Cut-throats. The *Irish* went out every where in Parties arm'd, broke open Houses, stole Cattle and Sheep, and kill'd what they could not drive away. This they did with Impunity. The Lords Justices had the Law, but not the Power to Punish.

The poor Protestants not being able to bear the Tyranny and Oppression of the Papists, fled their Country by Hundreds and Thousands; some to *England* and *Scotland*, and some to the *West-Indies*. And the *Irish* rejoic'd mightily in their Flight, knowing it weaken'd the Protestants who stay'd.

Tyrconnel returning to *Ireland*, not only turn'd out the Protestant Officers, but even the Protestant Soldiers; and that too in the most barbarous manner; causing them to be stripp'd to their Shirts, and then sent a starving; Himself taking Delight, in being the inhuman Spectator of this Barbarity.

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The Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Robert Fitzgerald*, Captain *Richard Coote*, and Sir *Oliver St. George*, whose Families had signaliz'd themselves in the Service of King *Charles I.* had their Commissions taken from them. And in their Posts were put one *Kerney*, a noted Russian; *Anderson*, a beggarly Fellow; *Sheldon*, a profess'd Papist; and one *Graham*.

Matters not being yet ripe for a Thorough Change of the Government in *Ireland*; the Earl of *Clarendon*, a Protestant, was appointed Lord Lieutenant. And as long as he continu'd Chief Governor of that Kingdom, he supported the Protestant Interest, as far as it lay in his Power. For King *James* had taken care to have Spies about him; and as many of his Creatures admitted into the Privy-Council in *Ireland*, as hinder'd him from doing any thing effectual, to redress the Grievances of the *English*. The *Irish* Lords animated their Vassals to insult them, giving out, that the Earl of *Clarendon* should not be long Lord Lieutenant. They hir'd wretched Scribblers, to make barbarous Songs in Praise of *Tyrconnel*, whom they design'd his Successor; and prophetically decree'd him the Honour of *Destroying the English Church*. These infamous Ballads were bawl'd about the Streets, and serv'd to inflame their lewd Mirth.

The Earl of *Clarendon* was inform'd of their Insolence, but he had not the Heart, or the Power, to chastise them. *Tyrconnel*, as Lieutenant-General of the Army, did what he pleas'd, and usurp'd the Authority of the Lord Lieutenant in Military Matters: Of which I shall give one remarkable Instance.

One Sunday Morning, as the Earl of Clarendon was going to Church, he perceiv'd an Irish Officer attending him, whom he never saw before. This Man took on him the Command of his Guard of *Battel-Axes*. At which the Earl was extremely surpriz'd; order'd his Attendants to make a Stop; call'd the Irish Officer to him, and ask'd him, *Who put him there?* The Fellow, tho' he was as much frighted, as the Lord Lieutenant was disturb'd; reply'd trembling, *That he was a Captain put in by the Lord Tyrconnel.* The Earl demanded of him, *When?* He answer'd, *That Morning.* The Earl then bid his Attendants call the former Captain, and dismiss *Tyrconnel's*.

The next Day, the Lord Lieutenant sent for *Tyrconnel*, and question'd him for this Action. Who reply'd, *He did nothing, but by the King's Orders.* To which the Earl of Clarendon return'd Answer; *While His Majesty entrusts me with the Government, I will not be despis'd by his Lieutenant-General.*

Both the Parties made their Complaints to the King: But the Matter dropt; the Court not thinking fit to put such an Affront on the Earl of Clarendon, as to justify *Tyrconnel*; and resolving also not to shew the least Resentment against the latter, in whose Conduct they were entirely satisfy'd: He himself not long after return'd to *England*, to be at Hand against the long-wish'd-for Time of his Promotion to the Government of *Ireland*.

The Papists, upon his Arrival at *London*, held several private Consultations at the *Survey*, and other Places, to hasten the Removal of the Earl of Clarendon from the Lieutenantancy of *Ireland*,
and

and to have the Government put into Popish Hands.

The Earl of Rochester, then Lord High Treasurer of England, by some Accident got Intelligence of their Cabals, and the Subject of them, to his Brother's the Earl of Clarendon's Prejudice. He immediately acquaints King James with what he had heard; and that Prince absolutely deny'd, that there was any Design of Changing the Chief Governor of Ireland; assuring him at the same time of his great Satisfaction with the Lord Lieutenant there.

A few Days after, the Earl of Rochester had Intimation from his Brother, of the Contrivances of his Enemies the Papists, to oust him of his Government. Upon which he again apply'd to his Majesty; and the King again positively disown'd any such Intention. Nay, to give the last Proofs of his Sincerity, he wrote a Letter to the Earl of Clarendon with his own Hand, assuring him He had no Thoughts of Removing him from his Government; and believ'd he never shou'd, while they both liv'd. And yet the very Day before he wrote that Letter, he gave Assurance to Father Petre, Head of the Savoy Cabal, that Tyrconnel shou'd have the Lieutenantancy of Ireland; which the Irish Papists made no Scruple to tell, and to boast publicly of it in Ireland, at the very Time that the Earl of Clarendon receiv'd the above-mention'd Letter from King James.

Indeed, King James kept his Intention as secret as he could; and no body but his Queen and Father Petre were inform'd of it. When the latter propos'd to him, to let Tyrconnel know what he intended to do for him: The King reply'd,

ply'd, 'Tis not Time yet ; and He can't keep a Secret.

The Priests in Ireland not only reported that the Lord Lieutenant would be soon remov'd, but that his Brother also would lose the *White Staff* in England. As it fell out accordingly, a few Weeks afterwards.

When it was propos'd in Council to send a New Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, some of the Papists were for the Earl of *Peterborough* ; but the King himself objected against him : And when he was ask'd in private why he did ; He cry'd, *He was a Coward, and a Fool*. Others of the Papists were for the Marquis of *Powis* ; who being a Covetous Man, agreed to give a certain Favourite Four Thousand Pounds a Year, if he would procure that Government for him. But the Favourite knowing the King's Mind was set upon *Tyrconnel*, struck a Bargain with the latter ; and for the same Sum yearly, got him the Government, worth at that time 18000 *l.* a Year : And yet *Tyrconnel* us'd to say, *It did not maintain him* ; for he could never get rid of his Payment of Four Thousand Pounds yearly, till King *James* abdicated his Kingdom.

'Tis impossible to express the Grief and Terror of the Protestants of Ireland, when they heard that the *Lieutenancy* was given to their profess'd Enemy *Tyrconnel*. No Age or Story, says a Countryman of theirs on this Occasion, can parallel so dreadful a Catastrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the Day of Doom was come ; every one lamenting the Dreadfulness of their horrible Condition ; and almost all that could (by any means) deserted the Kingdom, if they had but Money to discharge their Passage. A Demonstration of this, were those

these infinite Numbers of Families, which flock'd
 over from Dublin to the Isle of Man. Every Thing
 discover'd a gloomy melancholy Prospect, and seem'd
 to be attended with so many Discouragements, that
 many who had Patent Places, obtain'd Licence from
 the Lord Lieutenant, under the Broad Seal, to come
 away. All that lay in the Earl of Clarendon's
 Power, for the Help and Assistance of the Protestants,
 he sadly perform'd, when he knew he was to be
 remov'd, and by whom to be succeeded. It was
 interpreted by many, as a signal Act of Providence,
 propitious to the English, that the Winds continu'd
 for some time contrary, after Tyrconnel was come
 to the Sea Side; which Disappointment did not a little
 discompose him. He arriv'd at last, and had the Sword deli-
 ver'd to him at the Archbishop of Dublin's Palace
 by the Earl of Clarendon, who made an excel-
 lent Speech to him, setting forth "his exact
 "Observance of the Commands of the King
 "his Master, and faithful discharging of the
 "great Trust which had been committed to
 "him; concluding with his impartial Admi-
 "nistration of Justice to all Parties; and ad-
 "dressing himself particularly to Tyrconnel, he
 "said, That as he had kept an equal Hand of Justice
 "to the Roman-Catholicks, so he hop'd his Lordship
 "would to the Protestants. Never was Sword
 wash'd with so many Tears as this; and that
 fatal Day was follow'd with Four Years of the
 most insupportable Tyranny that ever a poor
 Nation suffer'd under; One Thousand Five
 Hundred Families deserted Dublin, and remov'd
 to England with the Earl of Clarendon. The
 Papists being already in Possession of
 the Military Power, their next Attempt was
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upon the Civil, and to get the Law on their Side, as well as the Sword. In order to this, 'twas absolutely necessary for them to take the Charters from all the Corporations of Ireland, that Popish Electors might be intruded upon them, to chuse Popish Members of Parliament, to Repeal the *Act of Settlement*; and all other *Acts* made in Favour of the *English*. Before the Earl of *Clarendon* left Ireland, he got the Lord Chief-Justice *Keating*, a pretended Protestant, but a *Stanch Churchman*, and a great Instrument of the Tyrannical Government in Ireland, to give him his Opinion of the Legality and Justice of that *Act*; as also to answer the Objections which had been made against it by Sir *Richard Neagle*, the Popish Lawyer. *Keating*, to please the Earl, study'd the Point carefully, and refuted all *Neagle's* Arguments. The Earl of *Clarendon* carry'd his Opinion to Court with him, and shew'd it to King *James*, who sent a Copy of it over to *Tyrconnel*. The latter reproach'd *Keating* for it, the first Time he saw him. The Chief-Justice disown'd it at first, but the Copy of his Opinion being shewn, he made the best Excuse he cou'd; and on Promise of better Obedience for the future, was continu'd in his Post, and help'd *Tyrconnel* in his Arbitrary Proceedings against the Charters. One or Two other such Protestants, were also continu'd Judges; but the Major Part of every Bench were Papists, and the most inveterate that they could pick out. Sir *Standish Hartstongue*, Barr. one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Richard Reynells*, Barr. one of the Judges of the *King's Bench*; and ——— *Johnson*, Esq; one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*, were remov'd, even before *Tyrconnel*

connel had the Sword. Sir Charles Potter, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, oppos'd these violent Measures, and declar'd publickly, *He came not over to serve a Turn, nor wou'd do any Thing against his Conscience;* of which Information being sent to Court, when he return'd thither, he cou'd not, without some Difficulty, obtain the Favour of kissing the King's Hand; but he at length gain'd Admittance, and humbly ask'd his Majesty *what he had done, that he was so us'd, for it had been a considerable Expence to him, to remove his Family?* To which the King reply'd, *'Twas his own Fault.* Sir Charles went several times after to Court, and stood in the King's Eye, but he never vouchsaf'd to speak to him, or to take the least Notice of him.

Some of the Papists themselves, were against these hasty Proceedings, particularly the Marquis of Powis, who advis'd a *slow Progress;* and for that Reason, his Wife's Counsels were prefer'd to his. Tyrconnel, when he came to the Government, made a more thorough Change in the Courts of Justice, where he plac'd Sir Alexander Fiston as Lord Chancellor. This Man had been detected of Forgery at *Westminster*, and *Chester*; was fin'd by the House of Lords, in Parliament, thrown into Goal, and taken thence to be Keeper of King James's Irish Conscience. He had neither Law nor Sense, and had nothing to recommend him to such a high Post, but his Apostacy from the Protestant Religion: His common Language to the Protestants, was *Rogues, Traitors, Rebels and Villains.* In one Suit that was brought before him, he wou'd not allow a Mother the Guardianship of her Child, because she was a Protestant. Mr.

Thomas Nugent, afterwards Baron of *Riverstawn* was made Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*. This Man was noted for his Ignorance in the Law, and being the Son of an Outlaw'd Rebel, was pitch'd upon by King *James*, to judge whether the Outlawries against his Father, and his Fellow Rebels, should be revers'd. In all the Causes that ever came before him, wherein the Plaintiffs and the Defendants were *Papist*, and *Protestant*, I could not learn from the most diligent Observer, that ever he gave Sentence for the latter. He was Sharer in considerable Causes, and not only appear'd for them on the Bench, but also secretly encourag'd and fomented them. He wou'd Decree a Deed forg'd, or not forg'd, according as it serv'd a Popish Interest. And a Protestant needed no more to gain a Cause against another Protestant, than to turn *Papist*; an Instance of which, was the Case of Sir *Gregory Birn*, who turn'd *Papist* in the midst of his Suit against Captain *Robert Fitzgerald*, got a Deed condemn'd of Forgery, and recover'd Five or Six Hundred a Year, notwithstanding Mr. *Daniel Birn*, his Father, some Years before, for pretending it was forg'd, was su'd, and forc'd to pay 200 l. Damage.

Mr. *Stephen Rice* was made Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*. This Man had some Knowledge of the Law, but what Disposition he was in, to make a good Use of it, might be imagin'd, by his Character at the Inns of Court, where he was look'd on as a *Sharper*. He distinguish'd himself by his Inveteracy against the Protestant Interest, and Settlement of *Ireland*; having been often heard to say, before he was Judge,

Judge, That he would drive a Coach and Six Horses through the Act of Settlement. He declar'd, the Protestants should have no Favour, but summum jus, the utmost Rigour of the Law. Immediately his Court was fill'd with Popish Plaintiffs. Every one that had a forg'd Deed, or a false Witness, met with Favour and Countenance from him: And he knowing that they cou'd not bring his Sentences into England, to be re-examin'd there, acted as a Man that fear'd no after-Account, or Reckoning. In the Court of Common-Pleas, Sir Richard Keating, a Protestant, as he pretended, was continu'd, but the Papists made Use of him as a Tool, to carry on their Designs with the better Grace. However, he would not always drive so furiously as they would have had him; and Besides, one of the Petty Justices of that Bench, Judge Dally, tho' a Papist, was so great a Lover of Law and Justice, that he would not consent to any illegal Practices in his Court; and for that Reason, it had the least Business of any of the Three Common-Law Courts. Sir William Donnell, who had been Attorney-General near Thirty Years, was remov'd, purely because he was a Protestant, and Sir Richard Neagle, before-mention'd, put in his Place. What a rare Lawyer Neagle was, will appear by one Action of his. Sir William Petty, Father of my Lord Shelburne, had a Suit with Fitzgerald of Tycrohan, the Heir of a forfeiting Papist, for a good Estate. It was try'd before the Chief-Baron Rice, who on the Evidence of Two perjur'd Fryars, and a Woman, gave it for Fitzgerald. These false Witnesses swore a Person to be Dead in Spain, and themselves to be present at his Burial. Upon

this Person's Life, Sir *William Petty's* Title depended. Soon after he was known to be Living, and the Attorney General could not deny it. Sir *William's* Council resolving to Indict the Friars, and the Woman, for the Perjury, the Grand-Jury refus'd to find the Bill; and the Attorney General said, if he did not desist, he would enter a *Noli Prosequi*. By such Means was the Course of Justice stopp'd to Protestants; and the like Tenderness all the Courts generally shew'd to them, in favour of Papists.

Besides Sir *Richard Keating*, before mention'd, there were Two other Tory Judges, who call'd themselves *Church-of-England Men*, continu'd in Place. The one was *Lyndon*, who was Poor, and so the more expos'd to Temptations. The other *Baron Warb*, the great Instrument *Tyrconnel* made Use of, to deprive the *Irish* Corporations of their Charters. And yet, when he had done their Drudgery for them, because he would not go all their Popish Lengths, he was put into their Bill of Attainder.

Sir *Brian O'neal* in the *King's Bench*.

Sir *John Barnwell*,

Sir *Henry Lynch*,

} in the *Exchequer*.

All Papists; as were most of the Officers in all the Courts of Justice, which therefore did not deserve that Name, with Respect to the Protestants.

Tyrconnel, before he enter'd upon Violent Methods, try'd to get the City of *Dublin* to Surrender their Charter by fair Means; but all his

Arti-

Artifices, his Persuasions, and Threats, prov'd ineffectual. The Intention of this Tyrannical Deputy was to have Popish Freemen admitted into Corporations; in which the Citizens of *Dublin*, with great Humility refus'd to comply with him, and sent Sir Richard Reeves to London, to present a Petition from them to the King, setting forth their Loyalty and Services to his Royal Father. Sir Richard prevail'd with the Duke of Ormond to introduce him; but King James, as soon as he saw him, cry'd out, *Have you the Lord Deputies Leave to come with your Petition? I have those in Ireland that understand the Law better than you*; and so turn'd from him. The Petition being thus rejected, the Citizens of *Dublin* were forc'd to submit to Tyrconnel's Tyranny; and their Charter being lost, made way for the suppressing all the Charters of *Ireland*. By this means, Papists were admitted into the Magistracy in those Corporations; and they were so put to it to get Men of that Religion for their Purpose, that a Fellow, who had been condemn'd to be hang'd, was made Mayor of a Town in the North of *Ireland*. A Gentleman, who was on the Spot, writes thus of this Matter, "Twas their Rule to have in Great Cities, who were most *English*, one Third Protestants, and two Thirds Papists; but then, those they call'd Protestants were *Quakers*, or other Enthusiasts, and Two or Three in a Charter of such Protestants; as either their inconsiderable Estates or loose Principles would secure to their Party; by that Means, leaving not a Man of True Value or Courage in any Corporation in the Kingdom. And altho' they took in Lords and Gentlemen out

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" of

“ of the Country into all their Corpora-
 “ tions; yet could they not complete them
 “ without additional Numbers of Scandalous
 “ and Contemptible Men” In This Business was
 chiefly manag’d by *Ellis*, Secretary to *Tyrconnel*,
 a *Tory*, who call’d himself a Protestant; of
 the same Stamp, as I hinted, were *Keating* and
Worth, Two Judges, who assisted *Ellis* in betray-
 ing the Liberties of the People of *Ireland*. Ha-
 ving model’d the Corporations to their Mind,
 they were sure of getting a Majority for a Parli-
 ament, that should give Sanction to their
 Acts of Oppression and Injustice. The Judges
 in the Circuits clear’d the Goals of *Tories* and
Robbers, by pack’d Jurors, who brought them in
Not Guilty, if the Robbery was committed upon a
 Protestant. I shall give one lively Instance of
 the Tyranny and Cruelty of the *Irish* Papists
 exercis’d on the Protestants, in the Behaviour
 of the Earl of *Glendowry*.

This Lord’s Father had been bred in a Convent,
 in *France*, but taken thence Young, by the Pro-
 curement of the Duke of *Ormond*, who always
 endeavour’d to Naturalize the *Irish* Families into
 the *English*, and marry’d to the Earl of *Kildare*,
 Daughter, a firm Protestant; by whom he had
 several Daughters, and the Earl of *Glendowry*, of
 whom I am writing. The Duke of *Ormond*
 sent him, when a Youth, to the Archbishop of
Cambridge, who carefully bred him a Protestant,
 and had him Educated at *Oxford*, where Young
 Gentlemen in those Days did not learn a Com-
 placency for Popery, as they have since. *Sa-
 cheswell* and his Fellows have been encourag’d
 there. His Uncle, *Justin Maccarty*, without
 the Knowledge of his Mother, marry’d him at
 Sixteen Years Old, to a Daughter of the Earl of

Sunder-

Sunderland, who then was a Court Favourite, and immediately sent him to *Ireland*, where he continued a Protestant, till King *James* came to the Crown: and then like several *Irish* Converts he turn'd Papist: upon which King *James* gave him a Troop of Horse: His Troopers were the greatest Vagrants in the Country, which he at their Head savag'd in an horrible Manner; forcing Women, wounding Men, pulling down Houses, and acting all kinds of Rapine and Barbarity. A Poor Butcher of *Mayallo*, a Village near *Cork*, refusing *Clancarry's* Man a Horse, they seiz'd him by Force, and would never return him. The Man complain'd of it to the Judges at the Assizes, in Presence of the Earl; and the Judges ordering Satisfaction to be made to the Man for his Horse, the Earl promis'd to see it perform'd: but as soon as the Judges were gone, he took some of his Troopers along with him, went to the Man's House, and told him, he was come to give him Satisfaction for his Horse. He then commanded his Troopers to get a Blanket, and he himself stood an Inhuman Spectator, while these Murderers toss'd the Man in it, letting him frequently fall upon the Stone Pavement before his Door, till they broke him, as it upon a Wheel, all to Pieces, and so left him Dead. Another Man having offended this Earl at *Clonmel*, he had him first beaten with Sticks, and then hung up by the Hair of the Head, in which Barbarous Condition his Neighbours found him almost dead, but with much ado he recover'd and liv'd after it. The Earl was never so much as try'd for the Murder abovemention'd. His Troopers were try'd; and tho' the Bloody Action was done in
fight

fight of One Hundred Men, yet were they acquitted.

While the Laws were of so little use against these *Irish* Thieves and Murderers; the Protestants found they carry'd a keen Edge against Them on all Occasions. The *Irish* might Murder whom they pleas'd with Impunity; but if a Protestant in Defence of himself or his Wife, or Property, hapned to kill an *Irishman*, he died without Mercy. One Captain *Aston* walking with his Wife in the Streets of *Dublin*, an *Irish* Papist abus'd her; upon which the Captain drew, and the Papist was kill'd. Captain *Aston* was immediately brought to his Tryal, condemn'd and executed; while one Captain *Nangles* who had stabb'd his Disbanded Officer, was clear'd by a pack'd *Popish* Jury. Lieutenant *Mac-Gennis* murder'd Capt. *Hamilton*; Sir *Maurice Eustace* kill'd Two Men; one *Warren* murder'd one *Wilson*; Captain *Walker* kill'd *Blackbourn* the *Taylor*; Captain *Morris* murder'd a Poor Piper, and was made High-Sheriff of *Queens County*; Captain *Callahan* affronted the Judge at *Waterford*, broke open a House, and almost kill'd the Cryer of the Court; yet (all these Men turning Papists) nothing was done to them. It wou'd be endless, if I shou'd go about to enter into the Details of their Massacres and Robberies. And to shew what Security the Law was to the Protestants, one need only read the following

List

List of Sheriffs appointed in Ireland, for the
Year 1687.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Sheriffs.</i>
Ardmagh	Marcus Clarke.
Antrim	Cormock O Neil.
Cavan	Lucas Reily.
Clare	John Mac-Nemara of Cratlagh.
Cork	Nicholas Brown of Bantrey.
Catherlogh	Sir Laurence Esmund.
Dublin	Thomas Warren.
Downe	Valentine Russell.
Donnegall	Charles Hamilton, Esq;
Fermanagh	Cobonnagh Mac-Guire.
Galoway	John Kelly, Esq;
Kildare	John Wogan.
King's County	Hewar Oxburgh.
Kilkenny	John Grace, Esq;
Kerry	Donogh Mac-Gellicuddy.
Leitrim	Alexander Mac-Donnel.
Lowth	Patrick Bellew.
Limerick	Edward Rice of Ballynisty.
Longford	James Nugent, Esq;
Meath	Walter Nangle, Esq;
Monaghan	Sir John Fleming.
Mayo	Dominick Browne.
Queen's County	Edmund Morris, Esq;
Roscommon	John Dillon, Esq;
Syligoe	Henry Grasie of Longford.
Tyrone	Terence Donelly.
Wexford	Patrick Colclough.
Westmeath	Thomas Nugent.
Wickilow	Francis Meara.
Waterford.	John Nugent.

London-Derry, elected by the Inhabitants.
Tippary, appointed by the Duke of Ormond.
Among

Among these, there was but one Protestant, *Charles Hamilton, Esq;* who was put in by Mistake, instead of *John Hamilton*, a Roman Catholick; and there is this remarkable of *Donelly*, Sheriff of *Tyrone*, who serv'd Two Years for that County, that he had not one Foot of Freehold in the Shire; and for his Honesty the Reader may guess at it by this Story. His Son had stoln some Cattle from his Neighbour *Mr. Hamilton of Callidon*, and brought them to his Father, the Sheriff's House, where some of 'em were Kill'd, and Eaten. The Owner pursu'd and found the Remainder, which were restor'd; and to compound the Matter, a Bond of Sixteen Pound was enter'd into by the Sheriff for such as were Eaten. When *Donelly* came to *Dublin* to pass his Accounts, as Sheriff; he was su'd for the Money, but to avoid the Suit, he list'd himself a Foot Soldier in the *Lord Mac-Gwire's Company*, pretending he had been List'd Two or Three Days before the Arrest, which my Lord also vouch'd, tho' he really was not list'd, till after the Arrest. Upon this, the Attorney who took out the Writ, and the Person he ow'd the Money to, were brought into great Trouble, and forc'd to abscond, for violating the Privilege of the Army; for which they were glad to get off, by departing from their Claims: What rare Juries must such Sheriffs Impannel to try the Causes of Protestants? What a Blessing was King *James's* Reign to his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*?

The Privy-Council of *Ireland* is a great Part of the Constitution, and has considerable Privileges and Powers annex'd to it. For this Reason was it model'd, as well as the Army and Corporations.

porations. King *James* quickly took Care to have the Majority *Papists*; and whereas before it was a Refuge and Sanctuary to the Oppress'd, it now became a most effectual Instrument to strengthen the Popish Interest, and give Reputation to their Proceedings. We may imagine what kind of Government King *James* design'd, when he was attended with such a Council; and yet it is certain, some of those who were Protestants wou'd have been turn'd out, if they had not absented themselves, and declin'd appearing at the Board. But whether they appear'd or no, was of no Consideration, the Major Vote was against them, as will be seen by this

List of Privy-Councillors in *Ireland*, in King *James II.* Reign.

Sir Alexander Fitton, Lord Chancellor.

Thomas Nugent, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

John Keating, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Sir William Ellis, Secretary of State.

Bruno Talbot, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Stephen Rice, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Earl of *Tyrconnel*.

Earl of *Lymrick*.

Earl of *Barrington*.

Sir Robert Hamilton.

Adam Loftus, Esq;

Lemuel Kingdon, Esq;

Sir Paul Rycaut,

Thomas Hamilton, Esq;

Lord Viscount *Ikerin*.

Lord

Lord Viscount Galmoy.
 Mr. Justice Daly.
 Richard Hamilton, Esq;
 Sir William Wentworth.
 Nicholas Purcel, Esq;
 Earl of Clanrickard.
 Earl of Antrim.
 Justin Mac-Carty, Esq;
 Lord Viscount Gormanstown.
 Lord Viscount Rosse.
 Earl of Tyrone.
 Lord Nesterwill.
 Lord Louth.
 Sir William Talbot.
 Anthony Hamilton, Esq;
 Thomas Sheridan, Esq;
 Simon Luttrell, Esq;
 Fitzgerald Villers, Esq;
 Colonel Garret Moore.
 Lord Bellew.
 Charles White, Esq;
 Colonel Cormock O Neile.
 Francis Plowden, Esq;

I do not mention in the List, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Ardglass, Drogheda, Mount-Alexander, Ranelagh, Longford; the Lord Viscount Fitzbarding, the Lord Viscount Blesington; Robert Fitzgerald, Esq; Sir Charles Fielding, Sir Richard Reynel; because, tho' their Names are to be met with among the others; yet some of 'em were never Sworn, and others never Acted: And who wou'd act with such Fellows, as Ellis, Sheridan, &c. Of the latter we have said something already, and shall presently be oblig'd to say a great deal more.

In

In the Year 1687. King *James* coming to *Chester*, *Tyrconnel*, who was apprehensive, that there were some about the King who did him ill Offices, obtain'd leave of his Majesty to wait upon him there. When he took leave of the Privy-Counsellors, in Order to it, He said to them, *I have put the Sword into your Hands, and G—d D—n you all, if you ever part with it again.* He carry'd with him his great Minister and Counsellor Sir *Stephen Rice* of the *Exchequer*, to make a Specious Representation of Affairs, which he was the more likely to succeed in, there being no Body present to contradict him. This step of *Tyrconnel's* was very necessary; for several of the Popish Lords in *England*, who had Estates to lose, and thought he drove too fast, did Cabal against him; as the Marquis of *Powis*, and the Lord *Bellasis* in particular; the latter swore in Council, *That Fellow in Ireland is Fool and Madman enough to ruin Two Kingdoms.* He had a Council that were not very well qualify'd to assist him; they were ready enough to give into any of his Measures, but had not Sense enough to foresee the ill Consequences attending them: *Rice* had Understanding, but he was a Creature whose Fortune depended on *Tyrconnel's*, and consequently he durst not offend him, by giving him good Advice. *Daly* was also a Man of Understanding, but he had no Interest, and wou'd often complain, that nothing cou'd pass at the Council-Board that concern'd the Publick, but their Countrymen must first ask Teague, *If that wou'd not spoil his Potatoe-Garden.* Thus it appears, That *Tyrconnel* was absolute Master in *Ireland*, and had no Man about him of Capacity or Interest, to prevent the Ruin of the King-

Kingdom. The Judges had Instructions to oppress the *English* in their Courts and Circuits; and when the *Irish* were told that their Proceedings were against Law, *Damn your Law*, 'twas frequently their Word; *it is the King's Pleasure it should be so. We know no Reason why our King should not be as Absolute as the King of France; and we will make him so before we have done.* Nay, so extravagant were many of them, that they would swear with repeated Oaths, *All Protestants were Rebels, because they would not be of the King's Religion.* The Courts of Justice being thus fill'd with Popish Arbitrary Judges; and the Army harassing the Country, many of the Officers being *Tories*, some of 'em, such as had been convicted of Robbery; the Protestants lay at the Mercy of the Papists; who, if Tenants, would not pay them their Rent, nor if Debtors, their Debts; whereas any forg'd Deed or false Oath of a *Papist* was enough to get immediate Judgment and Execution against a *Protestant*.

There is a Statute peculiar to *Ireland* for Tryals, by *Civil Bills*, which in the Nature of *Chancery*, is such an Arbitrary Way of Proceeding, as gives the Judges of the Kingdom Opportunities, which too many of 'em made ill Use of. If a *Twelve-Penny Process* was hung at an *Englishman's* Door, and a false Affidavit made, than which nothing was easier to be procur'd, 'twas sufficient for Execution, directed to an *Irish* Sheriff, though the pretended Debt was of Twenty Years standing. 'Twas common for an *Irish* Tenant to sue, and bring a Fellow to swear, that in such a Year his Landlord distrain'd Cattle of Twenty or Thirty Pounds

Pounds Value, and had them apprais'd at the Half Proportion of what they were worth. This was enough to get Executions, and 'twas a Practice become as Universal, as 'twas Destructive to the *English*. There was not one in Five of them in the *North of Ireland* but what was ruin'd. The same it was with Ejectments for Land, as in Actions for Debt, and there never was one Cause between a Protestant and Papist, whether for Land or for Debt, but it was given for the Latter: If the *Protestants* brought a Writ of Error, yet that did not Benefit them, nor stop their being outed of Possession; for the Sheriffs wou'd give it to the Papists on their own Heads, and left the Protestants to recover it by Injunctions out of *Chancery*; where *Pitt* us'd them as illegally, and barbarously as they had been dealt with at Common Law; Doctor *Gorge* was thus outed of a Considerable Estate, which he held by the Act of Settlement, by Mr. *Barnwell*. Some old Proprietors of Forfeited Lands got conditional Orders from the Court of Claims for Estates, many of which only enabled them to bring their Actions at Common Law. These had lain dormant Twenty Years; and now instead of bringing their Actions, they carry'd to the Sheriffs the old Injunctions they had procur'd from those Commissioners, and which they had not thought fit to execute in so long Time; and the Sheriffs without any more ado, put 'em into Possession. The Bishop of *Meath*'s Father had purchased an Estate in 1637, and both he and the Bishop had continued in peaceable Possession of it to the Year 1686. when he was outed of it by an old Injunction from the Court of Claims, granted on a pretended Settlement made for Portions to

the Daughters of the Man that had sold it to the Bishop's Father. *Nangle*, the Popish Sheriff of *Meath* executed this Injunction, without staying for the Formality of having Proof of the Deed abovemention'd. Near 100 *English* Gentlemen lost considerable Estate thus, in less than a Year; and no Protestant look'd upon his Property as his own, holding every Thing at the Mercy of the Papists, who whenever they pleas'd took it from the *English* Proprietors, either by Violence or Perjury. In this miserable Condition was *Ireland* brought by the Treason of Popish and Tory Ministers, and the Tyranny of a Popish Tory King.

One of the greatest Securities the *English* Protestants in *Ireland* had for their Religion, Liberties and Lives, was the Quarrel between *Sheridan*, before-mention'd, and *Tyrconnel*. *Sheridan* was Secretary of State, and one of the Commissioners of the Customs; and *Tyrconnel* having Information that he took Money for every Thing, especially for Places at the Custom-House, he order'd the Commissioners to dismiss all Petitions for Employments, and send home those that solicited them. *Sheridan* imagining 'twas done out of Spite to him, who was to make his Market of those Petitions, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and to undermine *Tyrconnel*. His first Project was to secure the Clergy on his Side; in order to which he gave out, that *Tyrconnel* was an *Infidel*; and to prove it, he reported what was told him by one of the Deputy's Chaplains, whom by Bribes he had gain'd over to his Interest, That this Priest attending him in the Camp at the Currah of *Kildare*, waited on him to know if his Excellency wou'd be pleas'd to hear *Mass*; No, says *Tyreconnel*,

Tyrconnel, such a one shall bear it for me, and that will do as well.

Sheridan wrote this to Father *Petre*, whose Niece he had marry'd; and, with the Help of the Titular Archbishop of *Armagh*, he form'd Articles against the Lord Lieutenant; intending to carry them over in Person, and have the Jesuits Assistance, in delivering them to the King and Council.

In this he was encourag'd by most of the Native Irish Papists; who look'd upon *Tyrconnel* as a degenerated Englishman only; he being of the Pale, and the Irish of *Ulster* did not think them Enemies enough to the English Interest.

Sheridan asking Leave of the Lord Lieutenant to go for *London*, it was deny'd him. Upon which he wrote to his Kinsman, the Jesuit, who was afraid of opposing *Tyrconnel* too rashly; and advis'd him to comply with the Deputy, at least in Appearance.

Tyrconnel got Intelligence of what was hatching against him; and consulting his Two Faithful Counsellors, the Chief-Baron *Rice*, and the Attorney General *Neagle*; they persuaded him to dissemble with *Sheridan*, and wait for an Opportunity to catch him in a Snare, that might be prepar'd for him. Accordingly, they set another Chaplain of *Tyrconnel's* upon entering into a strict Friendship with that Priest whom *Sheridan* had brib'd: And the latter opening himself very freely, with respect to their Design against the Lord Lieutenant, his Brother Priest seem'd to fall in with them. Thus did he sift out of him whatever was intended to the Prejudice of *Tyrconnel*: Of which he

gave notice to Rice; and particularly, that at such a Time, Sheridan was to send Dispatches to London, with full Instructions for a Charge against the Deputy: Who, with Rice and Neagle, waited in his Closet, at the Time appointed for the sending away of Sheridan's Packet, to intercept it.

The Hour being come, (viz a Clock at Night;) a Messenger was sent aboard the Packet-Boat, to bring back the Mail. Which being open'd, Sheridan's Letters were taken out; and those directed to Father Petre, discover'd the whole Intrigue; as also the Share the Titular Primate had in it.

When they had read his Dispatches, they seal'd 'em up again, and sent 'em away; all but one, address'd to a Friend at London, full of vehement Exclamations against the Lord Lieutenant, and containing the Articles which Sheridan design'd to impeach him of.

Rice and Neagle advis'd Tyrconnel to write to the Earl of Sunderland an Account of Sheridan's Briberies, and other sinister Practices; which he did at large. And when the Earl had receiv'd it, he acquainted Father Petre with the Complaints the Lord Lieutenant made against his Kinsman; which cool'd the Jesuit in the Prosecution of Sheridan's Charge.

Tyrconnel finding he had fortify'd himself at Court, resolv'd to break publicly with the Secretary; and to that purpose sent for him to his Closet, where were present the Earl of Limerick, the Lord Chief-Justice Nugent, the Lord Chief-Baron Rice, Judge Daly, and others. The Deputy demanded of Sheridan, *Whether or no he had written any thing against him to London?* Sheridan,

Sheridan, with the Forehead of an Original Teague, reply'd, He had not; but he had heard his Excellency had written against him. At this *Tyrconnel* was so enrag'd, that he call'd him *Traitor, Cheat, Rogue*: And pulling out his Letter, ask'd him, If that was not his Hand. *Sheridan* was at first in some Confusion; but recovering himself a little, he enter'd into a Capitulation with the Deputy; Which so incens'd him, that he rose out of his Chair to kick him; but the others turn'd him out of the Closet.

Tho' *Tyrconnel* and his Friends were not apprehensive of *Sheridan's* Interest; yet for fear it should give Encouragement to the Protestants to hope for some Advantage from their Quarrels, 'twas thought by them most adviseable, that no Noise should be made of what had happen'd; and that the Matter should be accommodated.

Judge *Daly*, the most moderate Man among them, undertook to make *Sheridan* sensible of his Error; and in appearance the Deputy and he were reconcil'd. But their Suspicion of one another continu'd, and consequently their private Designs to entrap each other with the first Opportunity.

We have hinted, that the pretended Primate of *Ireland* was concern'd in *Sheridan's* Plot; and the Lord Lieutenant, to be reveng'd of him, made use of the following Occasion.

The Popish Clergy in *Ireland* have their several Bishops, who exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction in the several Dioceses of the Kingdom. These Bishops met at *Dublin*, about the Time of *Tyrconnel's* Quarrel with *Sheridan*; and there arising a Debate about the Priority of their Jurisdiction;

on; the Titular Primate of *Armagh*, impatient to have his Primacy disputed, very insolently treated his Brethren: Which the Titular Archbishop of *Cashel* so resented, that he caus'd the Assembly to break up abruptly.

Armagh was an ordinary, illiterate, but very haughty Priest. *Cashel* had some Learning: And the other pretended Bishops espousing his Cause, they all wrote to Father *Petre*, to intercede with the King, that the Titular Primate of *Armagh* might, for his Insufficiency, have a Coadjutor impos'd on him.

The Deputy very readily supported them in this Request. And the King wrote to the Pope about it, aggravating the Primate's Misdemeanours and Weaknesses. The Pope answer'd, That he was one of his own Chusing; and would not meddle in the Matter. The Truth is, Pope *Odescalchi* had always a mean Opinion of King *James*, for his Siding with *France*; and was very frugal of his Favour to him.

The Irish Priest, who call'd himself Primate of *Armagh*, had been a Fryar in *Spain*; and coming over Chaplain to the Spanish Ambassador, at the Time when his Predecessor was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, at *Tyburn*; he prevail'd with the Ambassador to present him to the Duke of *York*; who writing to the Pope in his Behalf, *Innocent XI.* made him Archbishop of *Armagh*, by his Recommendation: And King *James* had not Interest enough at the Court of *Rome*, to get a Coadjutor put upon him. On the contrary, Father *Petre* knowing what was the Pope's Sense in this Matter, took Occasion to revenge his Cousin *Sheridan's* Quarrel with *Tyrconnel*; and severely reprimanded him, for

for fomenting the Division in *Ireland* between the Bishops and their Metropolitan, which render'd their Party ridiculous and contemptible to the World.

The Balk which the Lord Lieutenant met with in this Matter, gave Encouragement to *Sheridan* to revive his old Project, and endeavour the Ruin of the Deputy. He therefore again demanded Leave to go for *England*, under Pre-*tence* of a Law-Suit : But not being able to obtain Permission, he put his Wife upon Solliciting Father *Petre* to procure it for him. And that Jesuit, with much Importunity, procur'd the King's Order for his going over.

Sheridan coming to *London*, was forc'd to wait a whole Day before he could get Admittance to the Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State : And he soon found, that tho' there were many Lords (as the Marquis of *Powis*, the Earl of *Castlemain*, &c.) who were ready to assist him in Outing *Tyreconnel* of his Government ; yet that they should not all be able to effect it ; for the *French King* was his Friend. Insomuch that when it was reported in *France* that he was struck at ; 'twas said at that Court, *There was none in England, that durst move him.*

Sheridan observing that every one was shy in the Matter, chang'd his Tale ; and went to my Lord *Sunderland*, to assure him, *That all the Ground of Complaint he had against the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was for his Unkindness to him : That he had nothing to say, but what was Honourable of him ; only that his Excellency had taken Displeasure against him, he knew not why. And that the Occasion of his coming over, was to follow his own private Business.*

This Storm which threaten'd *Tyrconnel* being thus blown over, all those that had given *Sheridan* any Encouragement in Attacking him, dropt him. His Wife's Uncle, Father *Petre*, would not introduce him, to Kiss the King's Hand; which when he did afterwards, by means of the Earl of *Sunderland*, the King wou'd not speak to him. Nay, Father *Petre* at last refus'd to see him. The Lord *Dungan*, Son to the Earl of *Limerick*, brought over Letters from *Ireland*, which set forth *Sheridan* in such black Colours, that he was remov'd from his Place of Secretary of State in that Kingdom, and was threaten'd to have his Post of Commissioner of the Customs taken from him. As this would have ruin'd him quite, he presented a Petition to the King with his own Hand: But all the Answer he had, was, *That he must return to Ireland, and justify himself to the Lord Deputy.*

This he look'd upon as a Sentence of Condemnation, knowing *Tyrconnel's* implacable Temper, and the Provocations he had given him. He durst not therefore think of returning to *Dublin*, without some favourable Letter to the Lord Lieutenant; which the Earl of *Sunderland* gave him, to get rid of him. He pray'd his Lordship, to take Compassion of the Poor Man; who was sufficiently mortify'd, by what he had already suffer'd, in the Loss of the Secretary's Place. And that if His Excellency should pursue him further, to the Losing of his Commissioner's Place in the Customs, he was an undone Man; the King having declar'd, if the Matters alledg'd against him were prov'd, he should never have any Employment in his Dominions. And in the Close added, That Acts of Clemency were

were suitable to Persons of His Excellency's Quality and Station.

In vain were all these soothing Words to an offended Popish Tyrant, who was spirited in his Resentment by Success, and that Resentment of his aggravated by the Disposition of the Populace and Protestants of *Ireland*, who in this Dispute appear'd to wish well to *Sheridan*; and boasted at *Dublin*, that he would come off Conqueror.

When he return'd to *Ireland*, he repair'd immediately to the Castle, with the Earl of *Sunderland's* Letter; but *Tyrconnel* would not see him. He then went, and took his Place at the Custom-House Board.

The next Day, the Deputy consulted the Judges about him; and upon their Advice, a Day was appointed to give him a Hearing. In the mean time, he was suspended from Sitting in the Custom-House: Which Order *Sheridan* refus'd to submit to; disputing the Lord Lieutenant's Power in that Case. A very unlikely way to regain his Good-Will. The Judges being again consulted in the Matter, they gave it as their Opinion, That since much of the Proof of *Sheridan's* Bribery, depended upon the Officers concern'd in the Revenue; 'twould be absolutely necessary, to heap as much Ignominy and Disgrace upon him, in that Province, as was possible. To effect which, the Commissioners of the Customs were sent for, and order'd to write to all the Collectors in the Kingdom, not to keep any Correspondence with *Sheridan*, in regard he was suspended from Acting in the Revenue.

When

When the Day for *Sheridan's* Hearing was come, abundance of Witnesses were examin'd; and particularly a Priest confess'd, he had employ'd him, to take Bribes for him. Upon the whole, his Guilt appear'd so plain, and so foul, that he was dismiss'd of his Employment, and went off the Stage, with the Character of one of the worst of Men.

But tho' *Tyrconnel* escap'd this Blow, a more dangerous one threaten'd him afterwards. Father *Petre* never forgot his Inveteracy against his Cousin; and he, and the *Irish* Clergy, were continually representing to the King and Queen, how injurious these scandalous Impeachments of the Lord Deputy and *Sheridan* against each other, had been to the *Catholick Cause*. They also accus'd *Tyrconnel* of Slowness, a Fault he surely was by no means chargeable with; and recommended the Earl of *Castlemain*, as fit to succeed him, on account of his great Parts and Learning.

The Lord Lieutenant having Intelligence of these Complaints against him, from *Paris*, has Recourse (as usual) to his Old Friends, *Rice* and *Neagle*, for Advice in this Matter. They sat up whole Nights, in Consultations about drawing up a Vindication of the Deputy's Conduct, with reference to the slow Progress made in the Conversion of *Hereticks*. A Charge, which was most likely to do him Mischief. And to shew their Zeal, they prepar'd an Act, to be sent to *England*, which (in a manner) put all the Lands of the Kingdom into the Power of the King; under Pretence, that as long as the Protestants kept their Estates, there would
be

be no dealing with them. They assur'd the Court, that they could get what Parliament they pleas'd ; all Corporations being already at their Disposal ; and all the Sheriffs of Counties, that were to make the Returns, *Papists*.

This Scheme, they doubted not, would set *Tyrconnel* right at Court, and recover his Reputation for Zeal. In order to which, *Rice* was to go to *London*, to negotiate the Business, to get a Parliament chosen, and this Bill pass'd.

As soon as the Chief-Justice *Nugent* heard of it, (which was not till a Warrant was sign'd, for a Yacht to carry the Chief-Baron over) he bustl'd mightily among his Friends, to get the Deputy to name him also for a Plenipotentiary, that he might have some of the Honour of this Affair. *Neagle* and *Rice* privately oppos'd it ; *Neagle* saying, *He was good for nothing, but to spoil the Business*. However, *Nugent* pretended some private Business of his own ; and so obtain'd Leave to go over ; but he was not let into the Secret.

To render that Undertaking the more prosperous for the *Irish* Nation, they embark'd on *St. Patrick's Day* ; but considering the Success they met with, they might as well have put him out of their *Kalendar* ; as by a particular Order from *Rome*, they had formerly done *St. Luke* ; because on that Holiday, the *English* obtain'd a great Victory over them in the last Rebellion.

Rice and his Brother Ambassador coming to *London*, the former apply'd to my Lord *Sunderland* ; who gave him little Encouragement : Nor was Father *Petre* himself more favourable to him. He was inform'd of the Intrigue, to remove

move *Tyrconnel*, and put *Castlemain* in his Place ; but he did not let *Nugent* know that. His greatest Success was with the Conclave of Jesuits, and the *French Faction* ; to whom he represented the Lord Deputy's Extraordinary Zeal for Promoting the Catholick Cause ; and that he had made a much greater Progress in it before that Time, if the want of a Parliament, and the Continuance of the Act of Settlement, had not retarded his Design. That 'twas impossible to make Converts, as long as the Protestants had the Laws, and so much of the Lands on their Side, &c.

These, and such like Arguments, so far prevail'd on Father *Pierre*, that at last he resolv'd to lay the Scheme before the King : Who no sooner knew of it, but he fell in with it ; and order'd *Rice*, and his Collegue, to bring their Project in Writing, that he might advise with his Council about it.

He did not consult his Cabinet-Council first in this Matter, as he us'd to do in all other important Cases ; either fearing they would put a stop to it ; or else to shew his Indifferency, if it did not proceed.

The King deliver'd their Project to the Council himself ; setting forth the Injustice and Oppression of the Act of Settlement, which was so notorious, that the very Protestants themselves were asham'd of it. Notwithstanding he spoke to it in this Manner, no Man at the Council Board seconded him. After the Project was read, the Lord *Bellasis* inveighed bitterly against it, saying, *If such Designs as these were encourag'd, they of England, meaning the Catholicks, had best in Time look out for some other Country, and not stay to be made a Sacrifice for Irish Rebels.* The Marquis of

of *Powis* spoke to the same Purpose : And in short, the Scheme was so distasteful to the Council, that Father *Petre* durst not speak a Word in its Favour. The Lord *Bellasis* was for committing *Rice* and his Colleague, or commanding them to be gone immediately ; but the Major Part of the Council, in Complacency to the King, thought it advisable to give them a Hearing.

This Affair was not manag'd so secretly, but it came to the Knowledge of the People ; and where-ever *Rice* and *Nugent* appear'd, the Mob saluted them with *Potatoes* stuck on Sticks, and cry'd, *Make Room for the Irish Ambassadors*.

The Day appointed for hearing them being come, *Rice* made a cunning Speech, answering all the Lord *Bellasis*, and the Lord *Powis*'s Objections : But *Nugent*, who was a Blockhead, and besides no farther entrusted with the Business than *Rice* pleas'd, spoke so sillily, that he turn'd the Scheme into a Jest ; and *Bellasis* could not help calling him *Fool* and *Knave* in the King's Presence ; Go to the Fool, your Master, said he, and bid him the next Message he sends, employ wiser Men, and upon a more honest Errand. The Lord *Powis* told them, The King had better Use to make of his Catholick Subjects in England, than to sacrifice them for a Reprize to the Protestants of Ireland, in lieu of their Estates there. In a word, every one rail'd at them so vehemently, that the King remain'd silent, and these Ambassadors appear'd no more on the Stage.

The Miscarriage of this Project, gave Encouragement to the Lord *Castlemain*'s Friends to press the King to send him to Ireland ; but King *James* could do nothing in it without the Consent

sent of the French King, to whom, says my Author, he had promised the Disposal of that Government and Kingdom : However, Tyrconnel was so apprehensive of the sinking of his Interest, that himself said publickly to some Officers at the Castle, after Rani's Return to Ireland, that tho' he had great Assurance from the King that he should not be removed, yet now he heard that he should, and wish'd he had given 500 l. to have known it a Month sooner. That Expression made some People think, he meant he wou'd have provided against the Storm by the Assistance of France.

The Mortification of the Irish for the Loss of their Project was soon forgot, upon News of the Bishops being sent to the Tower, and the Birth of the Prince of Wales ; upon which the Irish grew so insolent, that the Protestants expected daily to be Massacred by them. Before the Queen was said to be deliver'd, the Irish Papists wou'd lay Twenty Guineas to One 'twould be a Son : And when the English ask'd them how they cou'd be sure of it? They reply'd, They depended on the Prayers of the Church. And now the Tyranny of Tyrconnel grew more grievous every Day. No Robbery committed upon Protestants was punish'd. The Irish refus'd to pay Tythes to the Protestant Clergy. The Sheriffs wou'd not grant Executions against the Irish. And if any of them were Arrested, they wou'd be rescu'd by a 100 or 200 Men at a Time. To conclude, there was no kind of Oppression which the Protestants did not labour under, and that with all the Laws on their Side, which neither King James, nor his Ministers had any regard for.

Would one think, that any Englishman and a Protestant, or one that assum'd those Names, shou'd

joyn with the Papists to bring this Destruction on Ireland. Several High-Church-Men, as has been hinted, were Tools of Tyranny; and especially *Worsh.* Baron of the Exchequer; who when the Popish Baron refus'd to grant a Warrant out of that Court to the Sheriff, to put a Papist in Possession of the Lands of one Mr. Swan, near Dublin, granted that Illegal Warrant, the Papist having no manner of Right to these Lands. And what was the Consequence of this flagrant Act of *Tyr. Injustice*? The Sheriff exceeded the Tenor even of the Warrant, for he had nothing to do with Mr. Swan's House, or the Land it stood upon. Mr. Swan therefore kept Possession of his House; and looking out of Window when the Sheriff came, desired him to call a Jury of that Neighbourhood, and if they found that Land or House in his Order from the Exchequer, he would give them Possession, but otherwise he would not open his Doors; for he was very sure the Sheriff had no Order to come there. The Sheriff made no Answer, but ordered his Men to fire at him as he stood at his Window; which they did accordingly, and shot him in several Places. They then broke open his House, and finding him wallowing in his Blood, and groveling on the Floor, they took him up and flung him out of Doors. Some more compassionate than the rest carry'd him into a Cabin, where he had so much Strength as to ask for *Drink*, which they wou'd not give him a Drop of, though his own Cellars were well stored with Liquors of all Sorts. Mr. Swan dying on the Spot, his Murder made a great Noise; but the Papists throw'd it off from themselves on the High-Church Judge who granted the Warrant, saying,

saying, *His Blood lies at Worth's Door.* The *Protestants* of *Ireland*, were so us'd to these Barbarities after King *James's* Arrival in that Kingdom, and Murders became so familiar, that the Remembrance of them was lost in the Number.

'Tis easy to imagine, by what has been said in the preceding Pages, that *Ireland* was entirely subject to the Pleasure of the *French King*, King *James* and *Tyrconnel*. And that *Egyptian* Bondage was more eligible than the slavish Condition of the *Protestants* in that Kingdom. The *Protestants* of *England* were threaten'd with the same Slavery; but being a vast Majority of the People, having Riches and Friends, they resolv'd not to give up their Liberties, but apply'd to the Prince of *Orange* for Assistance. *Tyrconnel*, by means of a Correlpondent of his at *Amsterdam*, had Intelligence of that Prince's Design before King *James*; and sent over his Friend's Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, who shov'd it to the King, who ridicul'd his Intelligence, which however prov'd every Day to deserve to have more notice taken of it. The *Irish* at first seem'd to be in no manner of Apprehension at the Enterprize of the *Dutch*. They doubted not but the *English* Rebels, as they call'd them, wou'd joyn the Prince; and that He, and his Adherents, wou'd be serv'd as the Duke of *Monmouth* was. They abus'd his Highness with the most Impudent and Villanous Expressions, threatening to stick his Head on a Pole and carry it round the Kingdom. News coming from *England* that the Prince of *Orange* was Landed, and that King *James's* Friends deserted him, it is impossible to express the Desperation and Despondency of the *Irish*. The *English* began to take Heart; and their

their Enemies, to think of saving themselves, more than of hurting others; Tyrconnel courted the Protestants, and made every Day Preparations for his Flight. Had due Care been now taken of Ireland, had a Regiment, and a Man of Quality, been sent immediately to Dublin, with an Order of Council only to Tyrconnel, to deliver up the Sword, it is not to be question'd but he wou'd have done it in the first Alarm. The Papists grew more resolute, as they had Time to look about them, and to see no Danger approach from any Quarter; while on the other Hand, the Protestants seeing also no Assistance coming, were dishearten'd, and that reviv'd the drooping Spirits of the Papists.

It was now Term-Time, October, 1688, and the Chief-Justice Nugent, the most ignorant Wretch that ever sat upon the Bench, in a Charge to the Grand-Jury, made a Romantick Panegyrick on King James's Courage, tho' the poor Prince was then taking to his Heels, with an Army of 25000 Men, flying before 15000. Nugent then commanded them to be very strict in their Inquisition after any that were suspected to adhere to the Prince of Orange's Interest! He concluded his Charge thus Elegantly: *The States of Holland are now weary of the Prince, and have sent him over to be dress'd as Monmouth was; but that is too good for him; and I doubt not, before a Month is past, to hear the Rebels are hung up all over England, in Bunches, like Ropes of Onions.* Tyrconnel had not above 4000 Men in Arms in all Ireland, the rest being sent to England. And when News came to Dublin, that King James had sent Commissioners to treat with the Prince

of *Orange*, 'twas propos'd by some Protestants, to seize the *Castle of Dublin*, where the Stores of Arms and Ammunition lay; the Possibility of this was demonstrated, and the Success extremely probable. The Persons who offer'd to undertake it, made no doubt of effecting it. The Papists being for the most part without Arms, and those that were in Arms, were raw and cowardly, and might easily be suppress'd. To do it therefore, there needed no more, but to seize the Deputy *Tyrconnel*, who had not then above 600 Men in the City; and the Hearts of those Men that he had, were so generally sunk, that they declar'd themselves desirous to lay down their Arms, proposing to themselves no better Conditions, but to return to the Stations in which they were, when King *James* came to the Crown. This was so universally talk'd of by themselves, that if any one could have assur'd them of these Terms, there was no doubt but they would readily have comply'd, and have left the Lord *Tyrconnel* to have shifted for himself. Some knowing Men have thought, that the wiser Sort among the Papists, wou'd have been glad that the Protestants had seiz'd him. The Earl of *Lymerick* particularly waited on the Lord Deputy, and told him plainly, *That his Excellency had the Opportunity of saving Money, and having but one Daughter, might, if Things did not go well with him in Ireland, retire into France, or some other Foreign Country; that for his Part, he liv'd on the Rents of his Estate, and might do so for the future, and would not run the Hazard of losing it, by opposing the Government of England.* He added, *That he and other Lords, wou'd make some Shew of preparing to oppose the In-*
vaders

readers: they expected from England, till his Excellency might make Terms for himself, to as great Advantage as he could; but if he neglected it, they would make Conditions for themselves. In this Disposition were the Chiefest of the Papists in Ireland; the Tories about King William knew it, but took Care to delay the Succours that were to be sent thither, on Purpose to give King James Time to recover that Kingdom.

He himself commanded Judge Keating to signify to the Irish Gentlemen, then in England, that he was willing to part with the Sword on these Conditions, provided he might have Leave to do it from King James. Keating wrote as much in a Letter to Sir John Temple; it bears Date the 29th of December, 1688, and among other Things of the like Nature, has this Paragraph, *If there be Faith to be found in Men, the Lord Deputy, and Roman Catholick Nobility, and Gentry of the Kingdom, who are universally concern'd in the present Army, and in that which is to be rais'd, will upon the first Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure to that Purpose, unanimously Dishband, retire to their several Dwellings, and apply themselves to advance the Quiet and Wealth of the Kingdom.* Must it not be these Insinuations, that instigated Mr. Temple to recommend Colonel Richard Hamilton to King William, to be sent to Ireland, to perswade Tyrconnel to surrender the Sword? Be that as it will, the poor Gentleman drown'd himself, when he heard that Hamilton, instead of performing his Message, had taken on him the Command of the Popish Irish Army rais'd to be employ'd against the Protestants in that Kingdom; who might with Ease have put it out of Tyrconnel's Power to hurt them, had they executed

cuted the propos'd Project to Seize him ; which was hindred chiefly by the earnest Admonitions of the Lord Mountjoy to the Protestants, not to be the Aggressors ; Which Opinion prevail'd among all the Protestants of Ireland, corrupted by some Court Doctrines, such as Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance ; the Mischiefs of which, they sufficiently felt, and repented of their unseasonable, and unwarrantable Loyalty, when it was too late. Tyrconnel, to amuse them, betook himself to his usual Arts of Falshood, Disimulation and Flattery ; to which he added, the deepest Oaths and Curses, protesting he wou'd be rid of the Government very willingly, if it might be with Honour. He added, *'Twas easy for him to ruin and destroy the Kingdom, and make it not worth one Groat, but impossible to preserve it for his Master.* Every-body wonder'd to find so great a Truth, come so frankly out of the Mouth of one, they usually stil'd *Lying Dick Talbot*, and who had been known, not without Reason, says a very Reverend Bishop, *by that Name.* Several Lords, and Gentlemen, endeavour'd to keep him in this wise Disposition, and frequently represented to him, the good Policy of his submitting to the Government of England : *What,* says he, *will you have me submit till they ask me ? Will you have me sling the Sword over the Castle Walls.*

Notwithstanding all these fair Speeches of his, he intended nothing less than to part with it ; his Pretences were to gain Time, and see what Turn King James's Affairs wou'd take. After he was in France, he gave out Commissions to raise Men, as fast as Officers came to demand them : And to encourage People to come

come for them, he order'd the *Secretary of War* to receive no *Fees*, though his trusty Friend, Sir *Richard Neagle*, was in that Office. The Deputy having no Money to maintain these Troops, it must necessarily follow, that they must live on Plunder, and Free-Quarter, which they did with a Vengeance, and wasted the Lands and Houses of the Protestants at Discretion, as much as if they had been in a conquer'd Country.

That the Reader may have a more perfect Idea of the Perils and Terrors those poor People were in, I shall insert,

A LIST of the General Officers, and Colonels of the *Irish Popish Army*, rais'd by *Tyrconnel*, for King *James*, after his Abdication.

Earl of <i>Tyrconnel</i> ,	Captain-General.
<i>Richard Hamilton</i> ,	Lieutenant-General.
<i>Dom. Sheldon</i> ,	Lieutenant-General of the Horse.
<i>Patrick Sarsfield</i> ,	} Major-Generals.
<i>Anthony Hamilton</i> ,	
—— <i>Wahup</i> ,	
<i>Thomas Maxwell</i> ,	} Brigadiers.
<i>John Hamilton</i> ,	
<i>William Dorington</i> ,	
<i>Solomon Slater</i> ,	Muste-Master-General.
<i>Robert Fitzgerald</i> ,	Comptroler of the Musters.
<i>Sir Richard Neagle</i> ,	Secretary at War.
<i>Sir Henry Bond</i> ,	} Receivers General.
<i>Lewis Doe</i> ,	
<i>Sir Michael Creagh</i> ,	Paymaster-General.
<i>Felix O Neile</i> ,	Advocate-General.

Dr. Archbold, Physician General.

Patrick Archbold, Surgeon General.

REGIMENTS.

Horse.

Dragoons.

Earl of Tyrconnel.

Lord Dungan.

Lord Galmoy.

Sir Neile O Neile.

Col. Patrick Sarsfield.

Lord Clare.

Col. Hugh Sutherland.

Col. Simon Luttrell.

Lord Abercorne.

Col. Robert Cliford.

Col. Henry Luttrell.

Col. Francis Carroll.

Col. John Parker.

Col. Thomas Maxwell.

Col. Nicholas Pursel.

FOOT.

Col. William Dorrington.

Sir John Fitzgerald.

Col. John Hamilton.

Lord Lowth.

Lord Fitz-James.

Earl of Westmeath.

Earl of Clancarty.

Lord Bofine.

Earl of Clanrickard.

Col. Oliver O'Grady.

Earl of Antrim.

Col. John Grath.

Earl of Tyrone.

Col. Edward Butler.

Col. Richard Nugent.

Col. Arth. Mac Mahon.

Lord Gormanstowne.

Col. Charles Moore.

Col. Henry Dillon.

Col. Dudley Bagnal.

Lord Galway.

Col. Gordon O Neile.

Lord Bellew.

Col. Nicholas Browne.

Lord Kinnare.

Sir Michael Creagh.

Lord Slane.

Col. Heyward Oxenburgh.

Col. Cormuck O Neile.

Col. Daniel Browne.

Col. Charles Cavenagh.

Col. Owen Maccarty.

Col. Thomas Butler.

Col. John Barret.

Lord Kelmallock.

Col. Charles O'Brien.

Sir Maurice Eustace.

Col. Dan. O'Donnovane.

Lord

Lord Ineagh.	Col. Dennis Mac-Gill-
Col. Roger Mac-Elligor.	cuddy.
Col. Edmund Reyley.	Col. James Patcoll.
Col. Cuconogh.	Lord Mansdon.
Guire.	Lord Mountcashel.
Col. Walter Bork.	Col. Daniel O'Brien.
Col. Felix O Neile.	Col. Richard Butler.
Col. Hugh Mac-Mahone.	Col. Robert Fielding.
Lord Inniskillin.	

An Army of 40000 Men, commanded by such Officers, cou'd not but keep the Protestants in continual Alarms, and make 'em look on their Goods, Estates and Lives, as Precarious Blessings, which they were in danger of losing every Moment. These their just and terrible Apprehensions were increas'd, by a Letter, Dated the Third of December, 1688, sent to the Earl of Mount-Alexander, intimating a Design to destroy the Protestants on the Sunday following. This Letter was spread over the Kingdom, and one cannot conceive the horrible Fright it put them all into. The Contents of it were as follow.

December 3. 1688.

Good my Lord,

I have written to let you know, That all our Irish-men through Ireland, are Sworn, that on the Ninth Day of this Month, being Sunday next, they are to fall on to Kill and Murder, Man, Wife and Child, and to spare none: And I do desire your Lordship to take Care of your self, and all others, that are adjudg'd by our Men to be Heads; for whoever of them can kill any of you, is to have a Captain's Place.

So my Desire to your Honour is, to look to your self, and to give other Noblemen Warning, and go not out Night or Day, without a good Guard with you; and let no Irishman come near you, whatever he be. This is all from him, who is your Friend, and Father's Friend, and will be, tho' I dare not be known as yet, for fear of my Life.

Direct this with Care
and Haste, to my
Lord Mount-Alex-
ander.

His Lordship sent this Letter to Dublin, with several Copies of it; and Copies of it were also sent to all Parts of the Kingdom. It arriv'd at Dublin on Friday, and the Day of Slaughter was to be Two Days after. The Terror of which was so great among the English, that above 3000 Souls got away on the Saturday. There happen'd to be a great many Ships in the Harbour at that Time, and they were all so cram'd, that the Passengers were in Danger of being stifled. The Irish were amaz'd at this sudden Flight of theirs. The Draw-Bridge of the Castle was drawn up, and Tyrconnel understanding what the Matter was, sent the Earl of Roscommon, and the Earl of Longford, to Ringsend, to perswade the People to return. He also order'd a Yatch to Sail after them that were gone, and fetch them back, but all to no Purpose. The Fears of the English were so strong, that not a Man who was gone off, would come back. Indeed, with what Peace of Mind, could a Protestant stay in Ireland, when his Arms were taken from him, and he was surrounded by an Army

Army of Thieves and Murderers, who robb'd and murder'd at Pleasure? The *Irish* Papists, under Protection of this Army, wou'd get together Two or Three Hundred in a Body, and sweep a whole County of the Cattle belonging to the *English*. This Practice continu'd so long, that at last many Gentlemen, and substantial Farmers, who had several Hundreds of Black Cattle, and Sheep, had not one left. By this Means, those who had liv'd in great Hospitality and Plenty, had not now Bread to eat, or any Thing left to preserve them from Starving. Eleven Thousand Cattle were stoln from the *English*, in Nine Days, by the *Irish*, in the Province of *Munster* only. Thus were the Farmers so reduc'd, that hardly one Gentleman, or Farmer, had above Two or Three Cows left, while the *Irish* Cabbins, for Forty Miles together, were full of Beef, stoln from the *English*. The *English* durst not defend their Property, for fear of being treated as Rebels. If they assembled together, and made any Shew of defending their Goods, and Persons, against these Thieves, immediately they were declar'd guilty of Treason, and the Attorney-General order'd to prosecute them. *Tyrconnel*, who had pack'd up all, and was preparing to march, when *Hamilton* came over from *England*, chang'd his Mind, and from courting the *English*, began to act as one that had vow'd their Destruction. In order to effect his wicked Purposes, he resolv'd to possess himself of *London Derry*, the only Place of Refuge for any Number of Protestants: And before he had discover'd his Intention to stand out for King *James*, he sent the Earl of *Antrim's* *Irish* Regiment to take Possession

session of that City ; but the Citizens seeing a Parcel of Cut-throats approach, just as they were in the midst of their Terrors on Receipt of my Lord Mount-Alexander's Letter, shut their Gates against them, and refus'd them Admittance. This was the first Opposition that Tyrconnel met with ; and this gave Encouragement to several Noblemen and Gentlemen in other Parts of the Kingdom, to enter into Associations for their mutual Defence. Sir Thomas Southwell, with some Gentlemen of Munster, after having born the Pillaging of their Lands and Houses, being threaten'd to have their Arms taken from them, and justly suspecting that their Lives wou'd not be safe afterwards, got together with their Servants, to the Number of Two Hundred, and resolv'd to march to Sligo, to join the Lord Kingsten for their common Defence ; And when they heard of King James's Deserting his Kingdom, and King William's being Proclaim'd, they were animated with a Noble Spirit of Liberty, and appear'd in Arms in several Parts of the Country ; but what cou'd a few Troops do, against a mighty Army ? Or a few Protestants, against a Nation of Papists, without sudden Help from England ? Which, to the Shame of the Administration be it spoken, they had not with that Expedition as was necessary to render it effectual.

Tyrconnel, at the same time that he thought of Securing Londonderry, was mindful also of Iniskilling, a little strong Town ; and sent Two Companies of Foot, to take Possession of it ; but the Inhabitants would not suffer them to come within Two Miles of the Town. And

as soon as they heard that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were declar'd King and Queen in *England*, they joyfully proclaim'd Their Majesties, and defended themselves against all the Power of the *Irish*, till Succours came from *England*.

'Tis very strange, that considering how powerful the Protestants were in *Munster*, where they cou'd immediately have got together a Body of 4000 Horse and Foot; when *Cork*, *Bandon*, *Kingsale* and *Youghal*, were offer'd to be deliver'd into their Hands; that no Care should be taken to preserve that Province in which King *James* landed, and where afterwards the *Irish* committed so many Acts of Cruelty and Spoil.

The Earl of *Inchiquin* and Captain *Boyle* did make a short Stand; but being discourag'd by the Slowness of their Friends in *England* to relieve them, and the Preparations in *France* for sending King *James* to *Ireland*; the good Prospect of Affairs in that Province soon vanish'd, and it became subject to the Tyranny of *Justin Maccarty*.

Sir *Thomas Southwell*, *Bartholomew Purdon*, Esq; *Thomas Miller*, Esq; and other Gentlemen, resolving to join the Lord *Kingston*, in *Connaught*, as I have hinted already; Intelligence of it was given to *James Power*, High-Sheriff of the County of *Galway*, and Captain *Bourke*, Governor of *Loughbreab*; who with several Troops of Horse, intercepted those Gentlemen, as they were marching between *Innis* and *Loughbreab*. *Power* and *Bourke* demanded their Arms. Sir *Thomas Southwell* finding they were too weak to make Opposition, and having consulted his Friends,

Friends, consented to deliver them up, on Condition they should have their Lives and Liberties : To which *Bourck* and *Power* agreed. But what signify'd that Agreement ? *Sir Thomas*, and his Friends, were seiz'd, imprison'd at *Galway*, try'd and condemn'd for High-Treason ; and lay there under Sentence of Condemnation several Months.

Such Usage was sufficient to incite every brave Man of the Protestant Religion, to hazard every Thing, rather than to be at the Mercy of such *Traytors*. And these Cruelties gave Offence even to the more moderate of their own Party.

There was among them an infamous Wretch, whom no Titles cou'd honour ; *Pierre Butler*, Viscount *Galmoy*. He had a Regiment of Horse, which was quarter'd on the Borders of *Ulster*, and order'd to reduce *Iniskilling* ; which he attempted to do with a *Tip-Gun*. In his March thither, he met *Mr. Dixie*, Eldest Son to the Dean of *Kilmore*, and *Mr. Charlton*, as they were carrying off some Goods and Cattle belonging to the Dean. These Two Young Gentlemen had some Friends with them on Horseback, to assist them, in case the *Irish* should offer to plunder them. *Galmoy* call'd these Friends a Troop of Horse, and the Two Young Gentlemen Officers of 'em, in Rebellion against King *James*, whose Commission they had not.

Mr. Dixie, who was just come from the College at *Dublin*, said, They were no Soldiers ; and that he was only Securing his Father's Goods. But *Galmoy*, without any more to do, order'd both him and *Mr. Charlton* to be hang'd at

at *Belturbet*. The Rope, or the Gate on which they were hang'd, breaking, Mr. *Dixie* fell down alive. The *Irish* ask'd him, whether he would turn *Roman-Catholick*, and pray for *King James*? The brave Young Gentleman reply'd, *He would not alter his Opinion; but would pray for the King*. Upon which they hang'd him up again; and being half dead, cut off his and Mr. *Clarkson's* Heads, kick'd 'em about the Streets, and afterwards fix'd 'em on the Market-House.

From hence the Lord *Galmoy* mov'd farther North, and finding at *Omagh* Two Men, Father and Son, who were said to have been in Arms; he caus'd the Son first to hang his Father, and then carry his Head through the Streets on a Pole, crying, *This is the Head of a Traitor*. Which when he had done, he commanded the Young Man to be hang'd.

Some of his Dragoons, in this Expedition, meeting a Clergyman's Wife, whose Husband had fled Northward with the Protestants; they first ravish'd her, then murder'd her, ripp'd up her Belly, and left her expos'd naked with a Dead Man upon her, in a Posture not fit to be nam'd.

An English Gentleman, in the County of *Tipperary*, seeing some Dragoons advancing towards his House late in the Evening, shut his Doors; but they broke 'em open, plunder'd his House, and ravish'd his only Daughter and Child before his Face. Sixteen of them lay with her; and Three of them after She was dead. Such Hellish Outrage, was sufficient to justify the taking Arms to oppose it.

Not long after *Galenoy* left *Cavan*, that worthy Gentleman, *Robert Sanderson*, Esq; came thither when there was a Quarter-Sessions held, and several *Irish* Justices of the Peace were on the Bench. Captain *Sanderson* had about 80 Horse with him; and going up to these Justices, demanded by what Commission they sat there? The *Irishmen* reply'd, by King *James's*. The Captain said, That was no good Authority at that Time of Day; and he order'd them to go home as fast as they could. Some of the *Reiley's* leading Men in that County, and in the Commission of the Peace, began to make Opposition; but Captain *Sanderson* threatening them with his Cane, the *Irishmen* quitted the Bench, and the Quarter-Sessions broke up. This News coming to the Ears of *Tyrconnel*, he threatend to send some Troops of Horse to Quarter at Discretion on that *Rebellious Country*, but he stay'd till he saw what was done in *England*; and had he not been spirited up on one Hand, by Hopes of Assistance from *France*, and on the other by the slowness of the Measures in *England*, for the Relief of the *Protestants*, 'tis very probable, he wou'd not have made any Head against the Attempts of the Latter to defend the *English* Interest.

In the County of *Cavan*, there was a very good Disposition among the *Protestants* to take Arms. Mr. *Daniel French*, and Mr. *Henry Guillims*, hearing Sir *Gerrard Irwin*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Earl of *Granards* Regiment of Horse, was come to *Cavan* to raise Men for King *James*, and had brought with him Pistols, Halberds, Carbines, Swords, &c. these two Gentlemen came from *Belturbet* with about 60 Horse, seiz'd the Knight and his Arms, deliver'd them to my
Lord

Lord Blany at Belcurhet; and he sent Sir Gerrard Prisoner to Iniskilling. The Lord Mount-Alexander, the Lord Blany, Sir Arthur Rawden, and other Gentlemen, taking Arms at the same Time in the Counties of Down, Antrim, &c. Tyrconnel was in such Apprehension of the English, that he sent some Troops of Horse and Dragoons to Navan and Kells, to prevent Captain Sanderson's Marching to Dublin; whither, had the Protestant Gentlemen gone directly, Tyrconnel was so frighten'd that he wou'd doubtless have fled or surrender'd the Castle, he having not above 600 Men in that City, and those Men raw and new rais'd. All the Reason the Gentlemen of the North of Ireland had for their neglecting to improve this Opportunity, was, that they had no Commission from England, and wou'd till then be only on the *Defensive*. Thus between the Backwardness of the Ministry in England, and the mistaken Loyalty of the Irish Protestants, a fair Occasion was lost, to prevent the shedding so much Blood as it cost to reduce Ireland.

Tyrconnel, to gain time, and deceive the Northern Gentlemen; as also to satisfy some Irish Lords, who were against involving their Country in a Bloody, Civil War, and for submitting to the Government of England, sent for the Lord Mountjoy out of the North, to perswade him to accompany the Chief Baron Rice to France, to represent to King James the Weakness of the Kingdom, and the Necessity to yield to the Times. He swore bitterly that he was in Earnest; adding, he knew the Court of France wou'd oppose it with all their Power: For, said he, *that Court minds nothing but their own Interest; and they wou'd not care, if Ireland was sunk to the Pit of Hell*

Hell, so they cou'd give the Prince of Orange, but Three Months Diversion; but if the King be perswaded to ruin his fastest Friends to do himself no Service, only to gratify France, he is neither so merciful nor so wise as I believe him to be. If he recover England, Ireland will fall to him in Course, but he can never expect to conquer England by Ireland; if he attempts it, he ruins Ireland to do himself no Kindness, but rather to exasperate England the more against Him, and make his Restoration impossible. He intimated further, that if the King wou'd not do it, he wou'd take his Refusal to be fore'd upon him by those in whose Power he was, and he would think himself oblig'd to submit without his Consent.

The Protestants, who were well acquainted with this Man's Fraud and Dissimulation, dissuaded the Lord Mountjoy from that Voyage, which was intended only to get my Lord out of the Way, he being the likeliest Man to head them. The Lord Mountjoy reply'd to this, That his going into France cou'd have no Influence on the Councils of England, who were neither Privy, nor Parties to it; and if they had a Mind to reduce the Kingdom, it was very easy to do it without his Assistance. That he must either go on his Message, now the Deputy had put him upon it, or enter into an actual War against him, and against such as adhered to King James's Interest, which he did not think safe to do, having no Order or Encouragement from England; from whence, on the contrary, all the Advice he receiv'd was, to be quiet, and not to meddle. That he was oblig'd to King James, and neither Honour, Conscience, nor Gratitude, would permit him, in his present Circumstances, to make War on his own Authority against him, while there was any possibility of doing the Bus'ness without One.

Tho' the *Protestants* were not satisfy'd with these Reasons, but desir'd him to stay where he was, to keep them in Heart, and head them upon Occasion; yet the Lord *Mountjoy* was positively bent on the Voyage, hoping to prevail on King *James* to comply with the Advice of his Deputy, which was all Grimace: *Tyrconnel* being well assur'd, that *France* was resolv'd to send King *James* to *Ireland*, and to raise a War in that Kingdom, if not to conquer it for King *Lewis*, to make a powerful Diversion to the Arms of *England*. The Deputy, to engage my Lord *Mountjoy* the more heartily in this Business, made these General Concessions in Favour of the *Protestants*.

1. That no more Commissions should be given out, or New Men raised.

2. That no more of the Army shou'd be sent to the North.

3. That none should be question'd for what was past.

4. That no Private House should be Garrison'd, or disturb'd with Soldiers.

These Articles were enclos'd in a Circular Letter, sent to Sir *Arthur Royden*, and the Protestant Gentlemen, by my Lord *Mountjoy*, before his Departure; of which I shall insert the latter Part, because it lets one farther into that Lord's Sentiments, which were bias'd by the fair Speeches of the *Irish* Deputy. "I am morally assur'd, this must do our Work without Blood, or the Misery of the Kingdom. I am sure it is the Way propos'd in *England*, who depend so on it, that no Forces are appointed to come

H

" hither,

“ hither ; and I am sure, what I do is not only
 “ what will be approv’d of in *England*, but what
 “ had its Beginning from thence. I do therefore
 “ conjure you, to give your Friends and mine
 “ this Account ; and for the Love of God, keep
 “ them from any Disorder or Mischief, if any
 “ had such a Design ; which I hope they had
 “ not ; and I am satisfy’d every Man will have
 “ his own Heart’s Desire. I will write to this
 “ Effect to some other Places ; and I desire you
 “ will let such in the Country, as you think fit,
 “ see this. Let the People fall to their Labour,
 “ and think themselves in less Danger than
 “ they believ’d, &c. This Letter was Dated the
 10th of *January*. And no sooner was the Lord
Mountjoy gone, than *Tyrconnel* deny’d the before-
 mention’d Concessions, and seem’d mighty an-
 gry at the dispersing of them, and refus’d to ob-
 serve any of them : For before the Lord *Mount-*
joy and *Rice* got to *Paris*, a French Engineer came
 to *Dublin*, with Dispatches from King *James* to
Tyrconnel, and Assurances that he would come thi-
 ther very soon ; which put that Traytor upon
 hast’ning the Mischiefs he intended, and breaking
 every Article of the Stipulations he had made with
 the Lord *Mountjoy*. He immediately gave out
 Commissions for new Levies of Horse and Foot,
 and privately sent Arms into the Country, to sup-
 ply the Irish Papists. News came quickly from *France*
 that the Lord *Mountjoy* was thrown into the *Bastille*;
 and *Tyrconnel* made all the Preparations he cou’d
 for a War. He secur’d the Town of *Newry*, a
 Pass very disadvantageous to the Protestants in the
North. He also Garrison’d the Towns of *Drog-*
beda and *Dundalk*, by which Means he cut off all
 Communication with the English and Scots in
 Ulster ;

Ulster; and having done that, he resolv'd to disarm the Protestants in all the other Parts of the Kingdom, which were in his Power; which he did on the 24th of February, 1688. The Method of disarming the Protestants in Dublin was this: He fill'd the Streets and Lanes with Horse and Foot; and then, for so much of the City as lies within the Walls, he sent to the City Officers, to signify to every House, that if they did not send every Sword and Bayonet, as well as Fire-Arms in their Possession, into the Churches; which were generally seiz'd for this Use, and fill'd with Soldiers; they should be put to Military Execution, both as to their Lives and Goods. Oh the Excellence of a Popish, or Tory Government! What Cobwebs are Statutes and Laws to such Governors? Where was the Liberty of the Subject? But alas! Who cou'd hope for Liberty, when they were forbidden to hope for Life, by this Vicegerent of King James; if they wou'd not part with their Property at his Command? Above 3000 Fire-Arms, besides Swords, Bayonets, and Pikes, were immediately deliver'd up in that City. At the same Time, Hundreds of Horses were taken from them. In the Country, the Protestants far'd still worse; for, under pretext of Searching for Arms, the Soldiers plunder'd their Houses, and sometimes tortur'd the poor People to make them confess their Arms. Ten Thousand Horses were taken from the Protestants in a few Days Time; and no Weapons, Offensive or Defensive, left them; by which they became Naked, and at the Mercy of those merciless Wretches, that greedily thirsted after their Blood.

The *Protestants* of the *North* took the Alarm again at those Proceedings, and got together in a pretty good Body, to defend themselves from the like Treatment. The Gentlemen met at *Hilsborough*; the Chief of whom was the Lord *Blaney*; who form'd a Design against *Carrickfergus*, to enlarge their Borders on that Side; but it was prevented by Treachery. However, he took the Pass of *Loghbricklan*, seiz'd *Armagh*, and caus'd their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* to be proclaim'd there, at *Hilsborough*, and other Places with great Solemnity. Upon this, *Tyrconnel* sent an Army to reduce them, commanded by the perfidious *Richard Hamilton*; with a Proclamation of Pardon to such as shou'd lay down their Arms, and submit to his Government; excepting however,

Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander,

John, Lord Viscount Massareen.

Robert, Lord Baron of Kingston.

Clotworthy Sberington, Esq;

Sir Robert Colwill,

Sir Arthur Rawden.

Sir John Magill.

John Hawkins, Esq;

Robert Sanderson, Esq;

Francis Hamilton, Esq;

This Proclamation was sign'd, *A. Fytton*, *C. Granard*, *Limerick*, *Bellew*, *Will. Talbot*, *Thomas Newcomen*, *Richard Hamilton*, *Francis Plowden*. Among these were some who assum'd the Name of *Protestants*, and were just such Friends to our Religion and Liberty, as the late Council of *Ireland*, when *Phipps* had the Administration there. The
Irish

*Irish Army coming Northward, what Stand could a Handful of Men hope to make against 15000? Yet Sir Arthur Rawden, with 500 Men kept them at Bay some time at Drummore; but being overpowered, he withdrew all his little Garisons thereabouts, and retir'd to Colerain. Thus the Irish became Masters of the Country about Hillsborough, Lisburn, Belfast, and Antrim. They plunder'd every where; and committed all manner of Acts of Cruelty and Rapine. A Servant of my Lord Massareen, having for Ten Guineas betray'd the Treasures of his Master to them, they swept his House to the Value of 5000*l*. The Lord Blaney, in the mean time, Commanded at Armagh, expecting a Reinforcement from Londonderry, for the Defence of that City. But Colonel Lundy disappointing him, he was forc'd also to quit that Place, and follow Sir Arthur Rawden to Colerain; which Town fell likewise into the Enemies Hands, after they had master'd the Pass of Portglanone; where Sir Arthur Rawden, Captain Magill, Captain Dunbar, and Captain Henley, made a Gallant Defence against Colonel Nugent, the Earl of Westmeath's Son: But the Victory sided with the Numbers; and Captain Henley being desperately wounded in the Engagement, was left as dead; but Colonel Nugent observing his Body, which was strangely mangled, mov'd a little, demanded if *He was dead*? The Captain spoke to him as well as he cou'd, desiring Quarter; which Colonel Nugent gave him; and took such particular Care to have him well look'd after in the Hospital of Colerain, that he recover'd of his Wounds. I mention this, it being the only Instance of such Humanity in an *Irish Papist*, during the whole War.*

Colonel *Lundy*, Governor of *London-Derry*, began now to shew the Wickedness and Treachery of his Intentions, in taking on him the Government of that City: For, though he affected a great Zeal for its Preservation, his Design was to deliver it up to *Tyrconnel*, when he had depriv'd it of all manner of Defence. He first streighten'd it from without, by ordering all the Garisons possessed by the Protestants to retire to *London-Derry*, under pretence of forming an Army to fight the Enemy; whereas, in truth, 'twas to fill the City with Soldiers, and force them to surrender for want of Provisions. The Papists follow'd the Protestants close at their Heels; and the latter earnestly desir'd *Lundy* to give the Enemy Battel before they pass'd the River, and got into the plentiful Country about it, on which they depended for Subsistence. If they had but secur'd the Passes of *Lifford*, *Claydy*, and *Finwater*, there had been no fear of the *Irish* ever getting into that Country; where the Protestant Army might have been maintain'd, till Relief came from *England*. But though these Reasons were strongly urg'd to him, he so loiter'd away his Time, that the *Irish* got a Days March before him, and seiz'd the Pass of *Cladyford*, upon a Sign, as it was thought from *Lundy*, who fled, crying out, *You are all cut off; Shift for your selves*. Indeed 200 of the Protestants were kill'd; and a whole Regiment posted at *Lifford* had certainly been lost, had not some Gentlemen, of greater Courage and more Honesty, made a Halt with the Horse, and brought up the Foot, losing only about 100 Men. *Lundy* then March'd all the Forces as fast as he cou'd directly to *Derry*, where he

he turn'd out 8000 *Protestants*, who were dispers'd about the Country, and had been all butcher'd had the *Irish* pursu'd them. The next Day, Colonel *Cunningham* and Colonel *Richards* appear'd in the *Loghfoyle*, about Four Miles from the Town, with 9 Sail of Transports, under Convoy of a Man of War, which brought over Two Regiments for the Relief of the Place ; and had not *Lundy* been such a Traytor to the People that had thus highly honour'd and trusted him, that Supply might have enabl'd the *English Protestants*, to have prevented the Misery, which the Garison of *Derry* underwent in Defence of their Religion and Liberties. *Lundy* told *Cunningham* and *Richards*, when they came up to the Town, That there was not Ten Days Provision in the Garison ; that 'twas impossible to hold out : And the Two Collo-nels having no more Courage or Honesty than himself, gave easy Credit to what he told them, and return'd to *England* with their Supplies of Men and Provisions ; of which I shall have Occasion to say something further, when I return to the Affairs of the City of *Derry*, which I must leave a while to observe what was doing by King *James*, towards his getting the entire Possession of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. The Truth is, he was put upon his Expedition from *France* to that Kingdom by the *French King*, whose only View by it was, to make a Diversion there to King *William's* Arms, that he might not be able to assist the *Confederates* as powerfully as was expected from him, now he was Master of *Great-Britain*. The Court of *France* did not hope to re-establish King *James* on the Throne of *England*, by setting him up first in *Ireland* : But the sending him thither, wou'd not only answer the

End he propos'd by it, of drawing the *English* Forces that way, but wou'd also animate his Party in *England*, whose Penetration was by no means so quick as his; and who wou'd be sure to build mightily on the coming of a King, that had an Army of 40000 *French* and *Irishmen* to support Him. It being therefore resolv'd at *Versailles*, that King *James* shou'd try his Fortune in *Ireland*, he set out early in the Morning the 28th of *February*, N. S. from *St. Germain en Laie*, accompanied by the Mareschal Duke de *Luxembourg*, the Count de *Mailly*, the Count de *Lanzun*, and other Persons of Quality, for *Brest*. He was attended by several Troops of *French* Horse, and a great Number of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, Officers. He embark'd at *Brest* the 17th of *March* and after a long Passage, he arriv'd at *Kingsale* in *Ireland* the 20th of that Month, 1688. He was receiv'd by the *Irish* Papists with great Demonstrations of Joy. Immediately an Express was sent to *Tyrconnel*, to give an Account of his being Landed; and the Deputy order'd a sufficient Guard, to lie on the Road between *Kingsale* and *Dublin*. The Forces he brought with him were not above 1200 *French* Foot. He had 400000 Crowns in Money aboard, and Arms for 1500 or 2000 Men. He did not presently land his Money and Arms; but finding the *Irish* were so well prepar'd for his Reception, he took Heart and order'd them ashore. Being compos'd by his Passage by Sea, he staid two or three Days at *Kingsale*, and then set out for *Dublin*; where he arriv'd the 26th of *May*, N. S. being met by the Earl of *Tyrconnel* ten Miles from the City, and without the Gates by Sir *Thomas Hacket*, Lord-Mayor, and the Aldermen, in their Formalities,

Formallities. The Rejoycings on this Occasion were accompany'd with all manner of Insults on the disarm'd *Protestants*, without the least shew of Dislike from King *James*; whose Carriage towards the *Irish*, as well *Papists* as *Protestants*, I shall examine at large, that the Reader may see what Dependance is to be made on the Word and Honour of a Popish King. And if King *James*, who boasted in his publick Proclamation, how just and impartial he was to his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, behav'd himself so Tyrannically and Cruelly towards them; what can any reasonable Man expect from his pretended Son, after his Education by the *French* King, and being bred up in an inveterate Hatred to the *English* Religion and Interest? Yet that there are some Church-of-*England* Men such Fools, as to imagine they might have a Popish King, without *Popery* and a *French* Tyrant, (for so one must look upon him, considering who was his Tutor, and who is now his Protector,) with Liberty, is too notorious, by the Insolence of the Faction since His present Majesty King *GEORGE*'s Accession to the Throne. 'Twas to set King *James*'s Behaviour in *Ireland*, after his Abdication, in its true Light, that I undertook this History. It will shew, that all Popish Kings will always take pleasure in impoverishing and destroying their Protestant Subjects; and especially, all such Kings as are influenc'd by *French* Counsels; which may teach every *Briton*, who has any the least Love for his Country and Religion, to hazard every Thing, rather than suffer a *Papist*, a Pupil of the *French* King, to have Dominion over them.

True,

True! There is no need for good Subjects to be apprehensive of such a Tyranny. The Arms of *England*, under the Management of those that are now in Power, brought the *French* Monarch himself to a State of Impotence, that render'd him rather an Object of Pity than of Terror: And his Faction in *England* are compos'd of the Vilest and Meanest of the People; who whenever the Clemency of the Government is tir'd, with their repeated Riots, will in an instant be suppress'd for ever. But since there are some of their *Teachers*, who poyson them with false Doctrine, and false History; to silence such seditious Priests, and convince their deluded Flocks, let us expose the Idolatry and Tyranny of King *James* in *Ireland*; that they may see that he and all who belong to him, are incorrigible; that they are not to be guided by Law or Reason, nor mended by Disgrace and Sufferings.

One of the first Things he did, after he came to *Dublin*, was to take care to have a full Popish Council; Men of his own Principles and Temper: And accordingly, he commanded the following Lords and Gentlemen to be sworn of his Privy-Council.

Duke of *Powis*.

Duke of *Berwick*.

Earl of *Abercorn*.

Lord *Thomas Howard*.

Earl of *Melfort*.

Lord Chief-Justice *Herbert*.

Lord *Dover*.

Marquis de *Abbeville*.

Lord *Kilmallock*.

Lord *Merryon*.

Earl

Earl of Carlingford.

Earl of Clanrickard.

Lord Kenmare.

Lord Clare.

Colonel Dorrington.

Colonel Sarsfield.

I give these Titles to the Persons I speak of, tho' they are not their Due, that I may conform my History to the Times I am writing of, and the Memoirs from whence I am supply'd with the Facts.

I shall, in the next place, give

A LIST of all the Men of Note, that came with King James out of France, or that follow'd him soon after.

The Duke of Berwick.
Mr. Fitz-James, Graffid
Prior.

The Duke of Powis.

Earl of Dover.

Earl of Melfort.

Earl of Abercorn.

Earl of Seaforth.

Lord Henry Howard.

Lord Thomas Howard.

Lord Drummond.

Lord Dungan.

Lord Trendraught.

Lord Buchan.

Lord Hanslow.

Lord Brittas.

Dr. Cartwright, Bishop
of Chester.

Dr. Gordon, Bishop of
Galway.

Sir Edw. Herbert, Lord
Chief-Justice.

Sir John Sparrow.

Sir Roger Strickland.

Sir William Jennings.

Sir Henry Bond.

Sir Charles Carney.

Sir Edward Vaudrey.

Sir Charles Murray.

Sir Robert Parker.

Sir Alphonso Moiclo.

Sir Samuel Foxon.

Sir

The Chevalier <i>de Vallerie</i> .	Captain <i>Mackdonnel</i> .
Sea-Officers.	15 Priests and Chaplains.
Captain <i>Trevanion</i> .	8 Chirurgeons.
Captain <i>Arundel</i> .	79 Captains of Foot.

One of the first Things done by King *James* after he came to *Dublin*, was to let the *Irish* see that they were not to be their own Masters, if they threw off Subjection to the *English*; but only to change their Dependancy from *England* to *France*. For Monsieur *D'Avaux* assisted at all Councils; and as he gave his Opinion, all Matters relating to the War, the Revenue, or Religion, were determin'd.

It has been observ'd, that there was formerly a Conspiracy, to betray *Ireland* to the *French* in King *Charles* the II'd's Time. And that Conspiracy renders what I am about to relate the more credible.

Before King *James* went for *Ireland*, the *French* King oblig'd him to enter into a Treaty; an Extract of which I saw in Manuscript, as it was given to a Gentleman by a Person of Quality, who had it from an Acquaintance of his, that came from the Court of *St. Germain*, and told him 'twas communicated to him by a Relation of the Marquis *de Louvois*, who found it among the Marquis's Papers. Whether it was only a rough Draught of an intended Treaty, or a Copy of a Treaty actually concluded, I shall not pretend to decide; but leave the Reader to judge of the Genuineness of it, by the Actions

of

of King James and his Accomplices, before and after he was King.

The Articles of the Private Treaty, between the French King and the late King James ; upon the latter's going to Ireland, in the Year 1688, 9.

- Imprimis,*
- I. " King James, in Consideration of the Assistance given, and to be given him, by his most Christian Majesty, conformable to Articles made by that King on his Part, for the Recovery of his Britannick Majesty's Dominions ; has agreed, as soon as he shall be restor'd, and fully resettl'd in his Kingdoms, and not before, that he may not give any Umbrage to the English Nation, to quit all Manner of Claim to the Title or Arms of France, and take effectual Care to put the same out of the Royal Escutcheon of England.
- II. " That he shall resign and quit the Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas to his Most Christian Majesty ; and to that Purpose, shall give Orders to Ships of War to strike to the French Flag.
- III. " That he shall be oblig'd to assist his Most Christian Majesty, with Thirty Capital Ships of War, and Twenty Thousand Land Men, in any War he shall be engag'd in, and this shall be at his own proper Cost and Charge.
- IV. " That he shall make, or enter, into no Alliance against France ; nor, with any other Prince or State, without the Privy or Consent of his most Christian Majesty ; but faithfully observe a perpetual League, Offen-
- " five

"Active and Defensive, with the Crown of
 "France. That he shall admit into his Standing For-
 "ces, whose Number and Strength shall from
 "Time to Time be regulated and limited by
 "him, in Concert with his most Christian
 "Majesty, a constant Body of Ten Thousand
 "French, and Five Thousand Catholick Swit-
 "zer, more or less, in Proportion to the
 "Troops of his own Subjects. And shall deli-
 "ver up Dover-Castle, Plymouth and Portsmouth,
 "also be Garrison'd by French Soldiers, as Cau-
 "tionary Towns, for the Security of the Per-
 "formance of this Treaty.
 "And That he shall permit his most Christian
 "Majesty, at all Times, and upon all Occasi-
 "ons, the free Use of his Ports, for the Re-
 "treat of his Ships; and shall supply him with
 "able Workmen, to repair or build Ships, as he
 "shall require it.
 "That in regard of the Situation of the
 "British Ports, and their Convenience for the French
 "Fleets, as also in Consideration of the Agree-
 "ment of the Irish with the People of France
 "in Religion; He shall, after his full Restau-
 "ration to the Kingdoms of England and Scot-
 "land, be oblig'd to assign Ireland over to his
 "most Christian Majesty, in Compensation of
 "all the Money he has already expended, or
 "shall further expend, in Recovering the said
 "Kingdoms of England and Scotland. And be-
 "cause of the Situation of the Islands of Sicily
 "and Sardinia, in the Mediterranean Sea, for the
 "Commerce of the English Navigation and
 "Trade into the Levant; His most Christian
 "Majesty obliges himself to conquer those
 "King-

" Kingdoms for his *Britannick* Majesty, at his
 " own proper Expence, and with his own
 " Troops; and to give them up entirely, in
 " Lieu of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*.

VIII. " That towards the Furthering a stricter
 " Friendship and Alliance between the Two
 " Nations of *France* and *England*, and for Per-
 " petuating a mutual and sincere Correspon-
 " dence, (in case of a Violent or Natural
 " Death of either the Prince of *Orange*, or
 " Prince of *Denmark*;) One, or both of the
 " Princesses Royal shall become Widows, and
 " that their Persons shall be seiz'd: That then
 " they shall be convey'd, with all Expedition
 " and Secresy, into *France*, and put into the
 " Power of his most Christian Majesty, to be
 " marry'd to such Prince, or Princes, as he
 " shall think fit.

IX. " That the Eldest, or surviving Issue of
 " such Marriage, shall Succeed to the Crown
 " of *Scotland*; to which, in such Case, his most
 " Christian Majesty shall annex *Ireland*, and
 " *England*, and the *American* Dominions, remain
 " to the Prince of *Wales*.

Additional Articles.

" That all Landed Men in *Ireland*, of the Pro-
 " testant Religion, shall be oblig'd to turn *Catholicks*,
 " or sell their Estates, at a Set Price, to
 " the *Irish Catholicks*, or others, as his most Chri-
 " stian Majesty shall appoint.

" All Protestants shall have Leave to depart free-
 " ly with their Effects.

Lastly,

Lastly,

All such Protestants as will stay, shall have Liberty of Conscience for the Space of Twenty Years, till the Kingdom is better peopled with *French*, and other *Catholicks*.

I doubt not, but scrupulous Readers will reject this Treaty as a Forgery. Be it genuine, or otherwise, I give it them as it came from *France*: And I hope they will not conclude it to be forg'd, from King *James's* great Justice and Wisdom, or the *French King's* Moderation.

It is certain, *Lewis* the XIVth did interest himself in the Affairs of *Ireland*, so long ago as when King *Charles* the II^d was in Exile; and, as I have mention'd in the preceding Pages, made that King promise to favour the *Irish* Papists. These Promises King *James* had it now in his Power to make good; and the Court of *France* insisted upon his doing it in the most ample manner.

But to put this Matter out of Dispute; That it was the Desire and Intention of the *Irish*, to make the *French King* Master of *Ireland*, one need only repeat what the Popish Bishop *Malony* wrote in a Letter to his Brother, Popish Bishop *Tyrrel*, dated *March* the 8th 1689, and found among his Papers, when he fled from *Dublin*, after the Battel of the *Boyne*. I shall insert only a Part of it; which, notwithstanding the *Cypbers*, will be easily understood.

Ireland shou'd be so sett'd, says *Malony*, as to be a Check upon *England*, as *Scotland* formerly was; to keep it from Rebellion against their own Prince,

from Trouble and Invasion upon France; and a Tye upon the Kings of England hereafter, to keep a good Correspondence with France, and preserve Ireland in a Flourishing Happy Condition; and not to be Slaves to all the People and Scums of England. If 48, or others, were loth to press any such Conditions, or Proposals on the King; they may make use of the French Minister, Count D'Avaux; who is with him as a good Adviser, and for to manage his Master's Interest.

I think it may be well and rationally proposed, if by the King of France's Means such an Advantageous Settlement may be procur'd for the Nation, and that he would be as a Guaranty and Protector of it; to give him, as well for his Assurance or Guaranty, as for the Payment of what he advances for the King and Country, some Sea-Ports in Ireland; as you have hinted on your Part.

Why should we question King James's Stipulating with King Lewis, to deliver up Ireland to him? Can we imagine, that King James took himself to be any thing better than K. Lewis's Deputy? If He is himself to be believ'd, he long before his Abdication, endeavour'd to weaken the Power of England, that it might be subjected to France.

Some Time after he landed in Ireland, a Reinforcement was expected from France; and a Courtier asking him, whether the French Fleet was not in danger of being met with by the English; He made Answer, I took Care, during my Time, that the English shou'd not have any great Strength at Sea: They have not Time nor Money, to fit out a Fleet so soon; and if they shou'd, I don't doubt but the French wou'd master them.

King

King James came to Dublin on Thursday the 14th of March. P. M. and on the Saturday following, the Count D'Avaux made his Solemn Entry into that City; as Ambassador from the French King; proceeding from the Earl of Clontar's House, near the College, attended by the Guards, and a great Number of Irish, and many Officers and Gentlemen, to the Castle; where having Audience of the Abdicated Monarch, he made a long Speech to him, concluding in this Effect: *That his most Christian Majesty, his heartily recommend to the Consideration of his Majesty of Great Britain; the Innocency and Merits, and Losses of his Catholick Subjects of Ireland; hoping that he wou'd not only restore them to their Estates, so long possess'd by Hardicks and Usurpers; but also contrive some way to make them amends, for the great Damages they had so long sustain'd.* And on this Root it was, that King James and his Irish Parliament proceeded on the 15th of March. The same Day that the Count D'Avaux made his Publick Entry, a Council of War was held at Dublin; and was resolv'd, that King James should march in Person with an Army towards Londonderry, to try whether his Presence would have any Effect on the Obstinacy of that Protestant Garrison. He took with him the Earl of Granard, and Mr. Hamilton, Archdeacon of Raphoe; who both call'd themselves Protestants. The Archdeacon, however, was one of those Churchmen, who, like Suchtrell, Walton, and other such Clergymen of our Times, do the Business of the Papists, by promoting Arbitrary Power; and weakening the Protestants, by dividing them, and exasperating them one against another. King James found some such Tools

in *Ireland*; and this Archdeacon *Hamilton* was one of the most forward of them.

Before I give any Account of *K. James's* Administration of the Government in that Kingdom, I shall say a word or two of his Expedition to *Londonderry*, and the Conduct of the Garison. I have mention'd already how *Lundy* betray'd them, and how *Cunningham* and *Richards* did the same; perswading several Gentlemen who were in *Derry*, that the Place was not tenable; and that there was no way for them to save themselves, but to lay hold of that Opportunity, and remove to *England*; which several of them did: But the major Part resolv'd to defend the Town to the last Extremity, rather than give *King James* the entire Possession of *Ireland*. They sent Three several Messengers to *Cunningham* and *Richards*, offering that if they would land their Men, and garison the City, they would take the Field with what Horse and Foot were in it; and did not doubt but to be able to stand their Ground, till more Supplies came from *England*. But instead of returning an Answer, the Two Colonels detain'd their Messengers. *Lundy* remain'd still in the City, to execute his Traiterous Purposes; but was so carefully watch'd by Colonel *Baker*, Colonel *Mitchelbourn*, and others, that he could not accomplish his Designs. His Behaviour did so far intimidate some of the more pacifick Men among them, that they sent one Captain *White* to *King James*, who was advanc'd as far as *Streban*, within Ten Miles of *Derry*, to receive Proposals from him. He had with him, as his Chief Counsellors, Monsieur

Monfieur Maman, General of the Horfe.
Signor Pifcina, an *Italian*, General of
 the Foot.

Monfieur Prontee, Engineer.

Lieutenant General *Richard Hamilton*.

The Duke of *Berwick*.

Mr. Fitz-James.

The Earl of *Abercorn*.

The Lord *Galmoy*.

The Lord *Galway*.

The Lord *Nesterville*.

Sir Maurice Euface.

Colonel *Dominick Sheldon*.

Colonel *Ramsay*.

Monfieur Doway, Receiver-General.

The Garifon demanded to have their Liberties and Properties fecur'd to them ; and as a Preliminary Article, that King *James* and his Army fhould not come within Four Miles of the City.

While the Treaty was a-foot, the King himfelf advanc'd almoft within View of the Place; notwithstanding that Preliminary was agreed to ; which fo provok'd the Townfmen and Soldiers, that they resolv'd to ftand the Siege, and to treat no more with a Prince, who could not keep his Word three Hours together.

Lundy perceiving that the Garifon would not furrender the Place ; on the contrary, that they fir'd on the Army, where King *James* was in Perfon ; he fent Colonel *Thomas Whitney* round the Town, to command them not to fire any more. *Whitney* could not refufe delivering the Orders ; but the Soldiers refented them fo

highly, that had not the Colonel made off as fast as he cou'd, he had certainly been thrown over the Walls.

After this, *Lundy* no more intermeddl'd ; but getting as many Soldiers as he could trust about him, he secur'd himself in his House, fearing the Townsmen wou'd seize him as a Traytor. Which they had good Reason to do ; the Key of the *Ferry-Gate* being lost, the Gun there, upon Examination, found to be uncharg'd, and no Gunner to be found. *Lundy* not thinking himself safe where he was, made his Escape in the Night to *Kilmore-Fort*, 3 Miles down the River, and from thence fled to *Scotland*, where he was imprison'd, but nothing more done to him ; such was the fatal Lenity of King *William's* Ministers.

The Townsmen and Garison finding themselves without a Governor, made Choice of Mr. *George Walker* a Minister, and Mr. *Henry Baker*, to be Joint-Governors, declaring they wou'd live and die with them. The New Governors presently set themselves to provide for the Defence of the City ; and there being about a Thousand Men in it, they form'd them into Regiments ; the Colonels of which were,

Colonel *George Walker*.

Colonel *Henry Baker*.

Colonel *Adam Murray*.

Colonel *Hugh Hammel*.

Colonel *Mitchelbourn*.

Colonel *Henry Muroco*.

Colonel *Thomas Whitney*.

Colonel *Henry Crofton*.

Colonel *Alexander Sanderson*, &c.

Thomas

Thomas Johnson, Esq; was appointed Mayor of the Town. The Magazines were examin'd, and the Provisions stinted to each Soldier, that they might hold out the longer. The new Governors turn'd out all the useless Mouths, and manag'd themselves with so much Courage and Prudence, that the Garrison was in no manner of Apprehension of the Besiegers, though their Army was said to be 40000 Strong, but in Reality it was not half that Number. I shall not enter into the Detail of this Siege, nor of any other Military Actions in *Ireland*, during this War, farther than they serve to show the Cruel and Arbitrary Disposition of King *James*, and the Inhumanity and Treachery of those he employ'd, after his Arrival in that Kingdom. Having, by practising with Captain *Robert Galbreath*, Captain *William*, and Captain *Benjamin Adaire*, got the Garrison of *Kilmore* to Surrender upon Articles: One of which was, that they shou'd not be Plunder'd, but enjoy peaceably their Estates and Goods, as well as their Lives and Liberties: No sooner had they put themselves into the Power of the *Irish*, but Colonel *Charles Moor*, Governor of *Colerain*, strip'd them to their Shirts, and instead of conducting them to the Place agreed upon in the Articles of Capitulation, he dispers'd them, and sent them away to shift for themselves as well as they cou'd. The taking of this Fort, was all the Exploit King *James* did in the North of *Ireland*. And having Summon'd a Parliament to meet the Seventh of *May*, 1689, he left the Command of the Army before *Derry*, and return'd to *Dublin*, to be present at the Opening of the Session,

One may imagine what a rare Assembly that was like to be, from the Characters of the Electors, who, in the Corporations were such Men, as had been put in by Virtue of *Tyrconnel's Quo Warranto's*; and in the Counties, were poor ignorant Persons of the Popish Religion, Qualify'd, or not Qualify'd, at the Pleasure of the Popish Sheriff. One cannot have a better Idea of the Condition of *Ireland* to chuse a Parliament, than by the following

LIST of the Lord-Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants, of all the Counties in *Ireland*, when King *James* call'd his pretended Parliament, *Anno Dom. 1689*.

L E I N S T E R.

Counties.	Lord-Lieutenants.	Deputy-Lieutenants.
County Dublin	Col. Simon Lutterel.	{ Thomas Warren Bartholmew Russel
City of Dublin	{ Sir Terence Dermot, L Mayor.	Sir Thomas Hacket
Meath	{ Lord Gormanstown	{ Thomas Bellew Walter Rangle
Trim		{ Edward Nugent, of Carlingstown
Westmeath	{ Earl of Westmeath.	{ James Nugent of Delshtown
Mullingar		{ Fergus Farrel Lawrence Nugent
Longford	{ Col. William Nugent	{ Marcus Baggott William Cooke
Longford		{ John Grace
Catherlogh	{ Dudley Bagnal, Esq;	{ Caesar Colclough.
Carlow	{ Lord Golmoy	
Kilkenny		
Kilkenny		

Counties

Counties.	Lord-Lieutenants.	Deputy-Lieutenants.
Wexford	Col. Walter Butler	Patrick Colclough
Wexford		Walter Talbot
Wicklow	John Talbot, of Iselgarde, Esq;	Edward Masterson
Wicklow		Hue Roe Byrne
King's-County	Col. Garret Moore	Thady Byrne
Birr		Penence Goghlan
Queen's-County	Lord Clenmalyra	Owen Carrel
Maryborough		Edward Morris
Lowth	Lord of Lowth	Thady Fitzpatrick
Drogheda		Roger Bellew
Kildare	Earl of Lymereck	John Babe
Namur		Cap. Charles Whyla
		Francis Leigh
		William Fitzgerald, of Cookestown.

MUNSTER.

Corke	Lord Mountcashel	Pierce Nagle
Corke		Daniel Mac-Carty
Waterford	Earl of Tyrone	Reagh
Waterford		Sullivan Bere
Clare	Lord Clare.	Charles Mac-Carty, alias Mac-Donogh
Ennis		John Nugent
Kenry	Lord Kilmore	Thomas Sherlock
Tralce		Donogh O'Brien, of Duagh
Limerick	Lord Brittas	Florence Mac-Nemarra
Limerick		Donogh Mac-Gillcuddy
Tipperary	Walter Butler, Esq;	Joseph Brown
Clonmel		Morice Fitzgerald
		Don. Roche
		James Butler of Kil- lascaban
		Garret Gough
		John Clantwal
		Daniel Mac-Carty

Counties.

CONNAUGHT.

Counties.	Lord-Lieutenants.	Deputy-Lieutenants.
Galway	Earl of Clanrickard	John Donnellan
Galway		Miles Bourke
Roscommon	Lord Dillon.	Nicholas French
Roscommon		Patrick Plunket
Mayo	Lord Athenre	John Tallon
Ballinrobe		John Brown
Sligo	Col. Henry Dillon	John Hore
Sligo		Edward Crofton
Leitrim	Col. Alex. Macdonnel	James French
		Henry Mac-Donnell
		Neile
		Hugh O'Rourke

ULSTER.

Cavan	Col. Edmund Reyley	Philip Oge O. Reyley
Cavan		Miles Reyley, Jun.
Monaghan	Col. Arthur Oge MacMahon	Capt. Hugh MacMahon
Monaghan		Col. Brian MacMahon
Tyrone	Col. Gordon O Neile	Capt. Terence O Donnelly
Tyrone		Shane O Donnelly
Armagh	Sir Neile O Neile	Walter Hovendon
Armagh		Con. O Neile
Derry	Col. Cormuck O Neile	Capt. Roger O Cahan
Derry		Capt. Francis O Cahan
Downe	Lord Iveagh	Shilling Magennis
Downe		Arthur Magennis
Donegal	Colonel O Donnel, Esq;	Manus O Donnel
Donegal		Tyrlagh Oge O Boyle
Antrim	Earl of Antrim	Daniel O Donnel
Antrim		Shane O Neile
Fermanagh	Lord of Inniskillen	Col. Thady O'Hara
Fermanagh		Cuconight Mac-Gwire.

There

There is no need to observe, that a Parliament chosen by the Influence of such Men, must be prepar'd for any wicked Work. The Names of them discover, that they were Native *Irishmen*; and the *English*, who know them, have inform'd me, that they were generally ordinary Fellows. Some of the Deputy-Lieutenants had been *Cowberds*, and Menial Servants to Protestant Gentlemen. Tho' the Papists were really the Nine in Ten in *Ireland*, yet the Protestants had the far greater Part of the Money and Lands of the Kingdom in their Possession. The Protestant Freeholders were the Majority, and hardly a Popish Member cou'd be chosen by a fair Election. The Protestant Traders built most of the Towns. The Protestant Farmers and Freeholders enjoy'd most of the Lands; the *Irish* were their Servants, or at best their Tenants: And the Parliament which King *James* call'd, being to enrich themselves by their Spoils, 'tis no wonder they did such unjust and extraordinary Things against the Protestants. King *James* being desir'd to call a Free Parliament in *England*, after the Prince of *Orange* was Landed, gave for a Reason why he did not, That 'twas impossible a Parliament should be Free, while an Enemy was in the Country. Yet the very next Day after he came to *Dublin*, he order'd Writs to be issu'd out, for Summoning a Parliament in *Ireland*, when he had an Army of 40000 Papists, to force the People to chuse whom he pleas'd; and when the Terror of them had driven a great Part of the Freeholders of *Ireland* out of the Kingdom: It was then most certainly impossible to have a Free Parliament there; but as a Reverend Prelate of our Church

Church observes, *Because the English Parliament would have secur'd the Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom, whereas he was sure the Irish Parliament would subvert them.* The House of Lords, had all the Peers been regularly Assembled, were almost Two Protestants to one Papist. But King James having qualify'd all the Popish Lords to Sit, by reversing their *Outlawries*, had Recourse to the same Method that his Friends our late Ministers practis'd, the making new Lords, as Sir *Alexander Fitton*, the Chancellor, *Thomas Nugent*, the Chief-Justice, *Justin Mac-carty*, Sir *Valentine Brown*, &c. And a List was prepar'd, of more to be call'd into the House, if they had wanted them; but there were so many Protestant Lords absent, that the Papists had the Majority, without any new Supplies; and they Attainted more Peers, than their whole House of Lords was compos'd of, as appears by these Lists.

A LIST of the Peers that sat in the House of Lords Summon'd by King James's Writs, for the Irish Parliament, in the Year 1689.

Sir *Alexander Fitton*, Bar.
Richard Duke of Tyrconnel.
Nugent Earl of Westmeath.
Barry Earl of Barrymore.
Lambert Earl of Cavan.
Mac-Carty Earl of Clancarty.
Powes Earl of Tyrone.
Aungier Earl of Longford.
Forbese Earl of Granard.
Dungan Earl of Limericke.
Preston Viscount Gormansfoun.

Butler

Butler Viscount Mountgarret.
 Dillon Viscount Costello and Gallen.
 Nettervill Viscount Louth.
 Macgennis Viscount Iveagh.
 Sarsfield Viscount Kilmallock.
 Bourk Viscount Mayo.
 Butler Viscount Ikerin.
 Dempsey Viscount Glammalyra.
 Butler Viscount Galmoy.
 Barnwell Viscount Kingland.
 Brian Viscount Clare.
 Parsons Viscount Rosse.
 Bourk Viscount Galway.
 Brown Viscount Kenmare.
 Maccarty Viscount Mountcashel.
 Chivers Viscount Mount-Leinster.
 Dr. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath.
 Dr. Thomas Otway, Bp. of Ossory and Kilkenny.
 Dr. Edward Wetenbal, Bp. of Corke and Rosse.
 Dr. Simon Digby, Bp. of Limericke and Ardfort.
 Birmingham Baron of Ardenree.
 Courcy Baron of Kinsale.
 Fitzmorris Baron of Kerry and Lixnare.
 Fleming Baron of Slane.
 S. Laurence Baron of Howth.
 Plunket Baron of Dansany.
 Butler Baron of Dunboyne.
 Fitz-Patrick Baron of Upper-Ossory.
 Plunket Baron of Louth.
 Bourk Baron of Castle-Connell.
 Barnwel Baron of Twinlestown.
 Butler Baron of Cobair.
 Bourk Baron of Brittas.
 Blany Baron of Monaghan.
 Malone Baron of Glenmalur and Courches.
 Mac-Gwire Baron of Eniskillen.

Hamilton

Hamilton Baron of Strabane.

Bourke Baron of Baphine.

Nugent Baron of Riverstown.

In all Fifty Peers.

**A LIST of Peers attainted by King James's
Irish Parliament in 1689.**

Dr. John Vesey, Lord Archbishop of Tuam.

Dr. Francis Marsh, Lord Archbishop of Dublin.

James Butler Duke of Ormond.

Edward Brabazon Earl of Meath.

Richard Boyle Earl of Cork.

Cary Dillon Earl of Roscommon.

Vaughan Earl of Garberry.

O Brian Earl of Inishiquinn.

Talkot Earl of Waterford and Wexford.

Montgomery Earl of Mount Alexander.

James Earl of Roselagh.

Arthur Chichester Earl of Donnegall.

Robert Ridgway Earl of Londonderry.

Lionel Earl of Owey.

Coot Earl of Monroath.

Moor Earl of Drogheda.

Villers Viscount Grandison.

Annesley Viscount Valentia.

George Sanderson Viscount Castletown.

Scudamore Viscount Scudamore.

Lumley Viscount Lumley.

Wenman Viscount Wenman of Tuam.

Buckly Viscount Buckly of Cashel.

Boyle Viscount Shannon.

Sherrington Viscount Masserene.

Cholmondely Viscount Cholmondely.

Boyle Viscount Dungarvan.

Berkley

Berkley Viscount Fitzharding.
Caulfield Viscount Charlemont.
Boyle Viscount Blessington.
Lane Viscount Lanesborough.
Dawney Viscount Downe.
Stewart Viscount Mountjoy.
Loftus Viscount Lisburne.
Folliot Viscount Powers-Court.
Loftus Viscount Loftus of Ely.
Beaumont Viscount Beaumont of
Chaworth Viscount Chaworth of Armagh.
Fairfax Viscount Fairfax of Emly.
Tracy Viscount Tracy of Rathcoole.
Ogle Viscount Ogle of Exburyagh.
Trevelyan Viscount Dunganon.
Dr. Ezekiel Hopkins, Lord Bishop of Derry.
Dr. William Sheridan, Lord Bishop of Kilmaree.
Dr. William Martin, Lord Bishop of Kildare.
Dr. William Smith, Lord Bishop of Raphoe.
Dr. Narcissus Marsh, Lord Bishop of Ferns
and Laughlin.
Dr. Edward Jones, Lord Bishop of Cloyne.
Dr. Capel Wiseman, Lord Bishop of Down.
Digby Lord Digby.
Henry Lord Bland.
Henry Lord Herbert.
Sherrard Lord Sherrard.
—— Lord Warton.
King Lord Kingston.
Coote Lord Baron of Coloony.
Petty Lord Shelburne.
Folliot Lord Folliot of Ballyshannon.
George Lord George of Dundalk.
Fitz-Williams Lord Fitz-Williams of Lifford.
Hare Lord Coleraine.

Richard Lord Baron of *Santry*.
Annesly Lord Baron of *Altham*.

In all Sixty Three Peers.

Ladies Attainted.

Catherine Viscountess Dowager of *Ranelagh*.
Anne Viscountess Dowager of *Dungannon*.
Alice Countess Dowager of *Drogheda*.
Alice Countess Dowager of *Montrath*.
Isabella Countess Dowager of *Roscommon*.
Margaret Countess Dowager of *Orrery*.
Mary Countess Dowager of *Orrery*.
Katherine Countess Dowager of *Ardflass*.
Lady Knox.
Lady Best.
Lady Hay.
Lady Stephens.
Lady Cole.
Lady Buckley.
Lady Graham.
Lady Donnellan.
Lady Culbroppe.
 Viscountess Dowager of *Lancashire*.
Lady Totty.
Lady Ponsonby.
Lady Percival.
Lady Armstrong.
Lady Petty.
Lady Hamilton.

Twenty Four Ladies.

Baro.

Baronets Attainted.

Sir *Arthur Rawdon of Moyra, Bart.*
 Sir *Arthur Cole of Newland.*
 Sir *Robert Reading of Brareil.*
 Sir *William Temple.*
 Sir *Francis Blundel of Edenderry.*
 Sir *Laurence Parsons of Bir.*
 Sir *Richard Reynolds of Dublin.*
 Sir *Christopher Wandesford of Castle-Cómer.*
 Sir *Thomas Southwel of Castlematres.*
 Sir *Simon Eaton of Dunmoylen.*
 Sir *Emanuel Moor of Rosse.*
 Sir *Robert Southwell of Kinsale.*
 Sir *John Osborne.*
 Sir *Robert Staples of Liffane.*
 Sir *James Caldwell of Bellick.*
 Sir *John Humes of Castle-Humes.*
 Sir *Francis Hamilton of Castle-Hamilton.*
 Sir *Arthur Longford of Sammon-Hill.*
 Sir *William Francklin of Belfast.*
 Sir *Oliver St. George of Hedford.*
 Sir *Robert King of Rockingham.*
 Sir *William Gore of Mannor-Hamilton.*
 Sir *William Courtney of New-Castle.*
 Sir *William Titchburn of Bewly.*
 Sir *Samuel Barnadiston.*
 Sir *Tristram Berisford.*
 Sir *John Peyton.*
 Sir *Thomas Donville of Temple-Oge.*
 Sir *Arthur Jones of Osbertown.*
 Sir *John Morgan.*
 Sir *Edward Crofton of Mese.*
 Sir *Henry Bingham of Castlebarr.*

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Sir William Evans.

Sir Edward Bencival of Burton.

Thirty Four Baronets.

Knights Attainted.

Sir John Magill of Gill-Hall, Kt.
 Sir Nicholas Atcheson of Mallaghbracke.
 Sir George St. George of Dunmore.
 Sir Robert Conrill of Newton.
 Sir Joshua Allen of Dublin.
 Sir Abel Ram of Dublin.
 Sir Matthew Bridges of Dublin.
 Sir Philip Coote of Killaster.
 Sir John Temple of Palmerstown.
 Sir Charles Meredith of Green-Hill.
 Sir Richard Ryves of Dublin.
 Sir Richard Stevens of Dublin.
 Sir John Edgeworth of Liffane.
 Sir Robert Clayton.
 Sir Richard Buckley of Dunloman.
 Sir Henry Fane of Loghurr.
 Sir Henry Ingoldesby of Dangon.
 Sir John Topham.
 Sir Robert Holmes.
 Sir Richard Hull of Leamon.
 Sir Matthew Dean of Cork.
 Sir Francis Brewster of Brewster's-Field.
 Sir Albert Cunningham of Mount-Charles.
 Sir John Cogbil of Drumeonagh.
 Sir William Wentworth of Dublin.
 Sir Henry Ponsonby.
 Sir William Lemon of Knockanelower.
 Sir John Dillon of Lis Mullin.
 Sir Robert Cole of Ballymackey.

Sir

Sir Toby Poynes of Brecknock.
 Sir Standish Hartstonge of Broffee.
 Sir Walter Plunket of Rathbeale.
 Sir William Meredith of Kiltriske.
 Sir John Parker of Farmyle.
 Sir Richard Stephens of Rosse.
 Sir Maurice Eustace of Baltinglass.
 Sir St. John Broderick of Ballyannon.
 Sir Michael Cole of Enpiskilling.
 Sir Charles Cheney.
 Sir Charles Loyd.
 Sir Algernoon Mayo of Rogers-Town.
 Sir Richard May.
 Sir Joseph Williamson.
 Sir William Barker of Abbeykillcooly.

Forty Four Knights.

Deans Attainted.

Dr. Theophilus Harrison, Dean of —
 Dr. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross.
 Dr. Edward Dixie, Dean of Kilmare.
 Dr. John Mac-Neal, Dean of Down.
 Dr. Anthony Cope, Dean of Elphin.
 Dr. John Pooley, Dean of —
 Dr. Tobias Pullan, Dean of —
 Dr. William Fitzgerald, Dean of Cloyne.
 Dr. Robert Ecklin, Dean of Tuam.
 Dr. Samuel Synge, Dean of Kildare.

It wou'd take too much Room, to insert all Names of the Lords Sons, Serjeants and Barristers at Law, Esquires, Clergymen, Gentlemen, Merchants and Citizens, that were attainted by this Execrable Bill.

There were Thirteen Peers more than the whole House of Lords, that sat in this pretended Parliament, Attainted by this Act of High-Treason; and the Number of Ladies, Sons of Peers, Baronets, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, amounted to above Two Thousand; there being in all,

- 63 Peers.
- 24 Countesses, Viscountesses and Ladies.
- 34 Baronets.
- 44 Knights.
- 83 Clergymen.
- 2182 Esquires, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, Merchants, &c.

In all 2430 Persons, of the best Condition in the Kingdom of Ireland. An Instance of Cruelty, not to be parallel'd in all the Histories of the World; not even in the Bloody *Roman Proscription*, which however was after a long War; and this before hardly any Blood had been spilt, except at the Siege of *Derry*, in the Three Kingdoms. 'Twill doubtless be a Satisfaction to the Reader, to know by what Methods they not only procur'd this Damnable Act, but this Damnable Convention; and to have an Account of their Proceedings.

The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, or the Titular Bishop of *Clogher*, his Secretary, together with a Writ for Election, sent a Letter, commanding the Persons he design'd shou'd be chosen. The Sheriff or Mayor being his Creature, on Receipt of this Writ, call'd so many Freeholders of a County, or Burgeses of a Corporation together, as he thought fit, and without any more ado made the Return.

Return. It was easy to do this in Boroughs; be-
 cause by their new Charters, the Electors were
 not above 12 or 13, and in the greatest Cities
 but 24; and commonly not Half of these on the
 Place. The Method of the Sheriffs Proceeding
 was the same; the Number of Popish Freehol-
 ders being very small, (sometimes not a Dozen in
 a County,) it was easy to give notice to them to
 appear, which was done; and the Protestants ei-
 ther did not know of the Election, or durst not
 appear at it. Thus the pretended Parliament con-
 sisted of the most bigotted Papists. Moderate Men
 wou'd not do. They must have those that wou'd
 go thro' stich, and were deeply interested to
 destroy the Protestant Religion, and Protestants of
 Ireland. An Instance of this appear'd in their op-
 posing Serjeant Dillon, who stood Candidate for
 Dublin, and was Recorder of the City; notwith-
 standing he was a zealous Papist; because he had
 purchas'd a considerable Estate under the last
 Settlement, and they were afraid his Interest wou'd
 engage him to defend it. Several Corporations
 had no Representatives, either because they were
 in Protestant Hands; or else, because the Per-
 sons nam'd by the Charter for Electors were so
 far remote, that they could not come in such
 Numbers, as to secure the Elections for Papists
 against the few Protestants that were left still in
 the Charters, and whol'd generally in the Place.

If Protestant Gentlemen cou'd have been pre-
 vail'd with to stand, a good Number wou'd have
 been chosen, notwithstanding these Arts and this
 Violence. But they knew Tyrconnel wou'd make
 sure of a Majority, and that their appearing
 wou'd do no good. On the contrary, it might
 irritate the Papists the more, and they shou'd ha-

zard their Persons to no Purpose. Besides, they cou'd not look upon it as a Legal Assembly; and cou'd not in their Conscience consent to countenance it by their Presence. However, 'twas thought fit that some Protestants shou'd sit there, to observe how Things went. Accordingly, Sir *John Mead*, and *Joseph Cagblan, Esq;* were prevail'd upon to stand for the University of *Dublin*; and Four Protestant Gentlemen were return'd for other Places. The Two former were so ashamed of the scandalous Company they were in, that they withdrew before the *Act of Attainder* came to be concluded; and the latter found all Opposition was in vain.

The Generality of the *House of Commons* consisted of the Sons and Descendants of the forfeiting Persons, for the Rebellion and Massacre in 1641; Men that had no Freeholds or Estates in the Kingdom; but were purposely Elected to make Themselves Estates, by taking them away from the Protestants; which they did with a Witness, by the *Act of Attainder*, and the *Act of Repeal*. By the latter, two Thirds of the Protestants Estates was lost; and by the former, the greatest Part of the Remainder was swept. Thus did King *James*, at a Breath, reduce One Hundred Thousand Souls to Beggary. And let not his Popish Ministers bear the Blame of it: He himself was the first Mover of the Repealing the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation*, pass'd by King *Charles* the II^d, which secured to the Protestants the Possession of those Estates that had been forfeited by the Rebellious Papists, and were purchased of the Crown by them. King *James*, in his Speech at the Opening of this wicked Assembly, recommended

mended the Repealing the Two before men-
 tion'd Acts of *Security*, which was one of the
 first Things they went upon. And he was so fond
 of this Popish Convention, that he was constant-
 ly present in the House of *Lords*, and directed
 them not only in their Debates, but also in
 their Forms and Ceremonies; hardly one in ei-
 ther House having ever sat in a Parliament be-
 fore. Neither cou'd he pretend Ignorance, in
 not being acquainted with the pernicious Con-
 sequences of passing those Bills which his Popish
 Ministers prepar'd for him; especially, with re-
 ference to the Act which repeal'd the Acts of
Settlement and *Explanation*; himself having been
 present at the Debates about those Bills in the
Privy Council of England. Every Clause in them
 was so strenuously oppos'd and vindicated, that
 they were debating in Council near Two Years.
 He had above 10000*l.* a Year settled on him by
 them; and perhaps there was not any Thing
 he understood better, relating to the Affairs of his
 Kingdom, than the ill Effects of those Acts.
 Many Promises of Assurance had he given at,
 and after his coming to the Crown, that he
 would never break in upon them; particularly,
 he gave the Earl of *Clarendon* in Charge to de-
 clare, He would keep them inviolable. In his Speech
 at the opening of the Session, he repeated his for-
 mer Promises, to Secure their Religion and Propert-
 ies; but then to comfort and encourage the
 Papists, he added, as it was before the Year 1641.
 He magnify'd the Glorious Actions of the French
 King, his Patron; and extoll'd the Assistance he had
 then given him, to enable him to recover and settle
 that Kingdom. Now he is himself the first Man
 that moves for the destroying them. Such was

the King, that the *Tories* of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* wou'd have restor'd us; and worse wou'd be his pretended Son, who never knew what it was to live in a Country where *Law* and *Equity* were of any Force. And that King *James* intended to abolish all *Parliamentary Proceedings*, was very plain, by the Conduct of his Creatures in his pretended *House of Commons*; where 'twas sufficient to damn a Bill, or to carry one, to say the King was for or against it. That Member was look'd upon as *Factionally* and *Rebelliously* inclin'd, that durst move any Thing, after a *Favourite* had affirm'd 'twas contrary to the King's *Pleasure*.

When the House had the *Earl of Strafford's* Case in Debate; and some were for leaving him out of the Bill of *Attainder*, for the Merit of his Ancestor, the *Earl of Strafford*, who deserv'd so well of the *Papists* when he was *Deputy of Ireland*; Colonel *Simon Lutterel* stood up, and said, *I have heard the King say very hard Things of him*; upon which it was immediately carry'd, that his Name shou'd be inserted in the Act of *Attainder*. As there were Four Bishops, and Five or Six Lay-Peers in this Mock-Parliament, who bore their Testimony against the Arbitrary, Cruel, and Unjust Proceedings of the Two Houses; and offer'd their Protests against the Acts of *Repeal* and *Attainder*, and other such Bills, as they conceiv'd destructive to the Kingdom; that Privilege was deny'd them; King *James* saying, *Protestations against Votes were only us'd in Rebellious Times*. Nevertheless they still insisting upon it as their Right, they were with much ado allow'd to enter their Dissent. The Prelates that sat in the House were, the Bishop of *Meath*,
the

the Bishop of *Ossory*, the Bishop of *Lymmerick* and the Bishop of *Cork and Ross*, whose Wisdom and Experience King *James* himself was forc'd sometimes to make use of to moderate the Madness of his Party, when their Votes displeas'd him.

It is observable, that all the Acts of this pretended Parliament are said to be by the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; whereas not one Spiritual Lord consented to many of them; but on the contrary, unanimously protested against them; and at passing the Act of *Attainder* they were not so much as present. They complain'd of this, but were refus'd Redress, and the express mention of their Consent continu'd. When Sir *Richard Neagle*, Speaker of the *House of Commons*, presented that Horrid Bill to King *James* for his Royal Assent; he told him, That many were attainted in that Act by the *House of Commons*, upon such Evidence as fully satisfy'd the House; and the rest upon Common Fame. Let the World judge what a King we had Abdicated, who cou'd hear a Lawyer declare on so solemn an Occasion, that *Common Fame* is a sufficient Evidence, to deprive Thousands of Lords, Clergymen and Gentlemen of their Lives and Fortunes, without Possibility of Pardon, who cou'd not only hear but approve it. Who cou'd do more? Who cou'd give his Sanction to such an Act of Cruelty and Injustice, on so slender a Foundation as *Hearsay*.

It has been said, that there was no Possibility of Pardon; and it is thus made out. The King cou'd not pardon any Person mention'd in the Act, unless such Pardon was enroll'd before the last Day of *November*, 1689. Now the Act was conceal'd

conceal'd ; and no Protestant for any Money permitted to see it, much less to take a Copy of it, till the Time limited for Pardons was past, at least Four Months ; by which Means, all the Exceptions for such as came in by the Times therein mention'd, were Null and Void ; those Times being long elaps'd, before the Protestants could know who were in the Bill and who were not ; as will be shewn in Sir Thomas Southwell's Case.

Is it not strange, that there should be among us a Party of Men, ready upon all Occasions to speak of such a Prince as this, as if he had been Innocent and Injur'd ; as if we were not only Rebels, but Fools for getting rid of him ; and as if it was the Best and Wisest Thing we could have done, to have try'd him again ? A Tryal was made of him in *Ireland*, and how did he there behave himself ? Did it encourage his Subjects to put any second Trust in his Promises, his Honour or Justice ? What Hopes had those Men to fare better than the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of *Ireland*, whom he doom'd to Gibbets, and their Posterity to Beggary, by that detestable *Act of Attainder* ? Yet, under pretence of Zeal for the *High-Church* Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, of *Hereditary Right*, and *Jure Divino* ; what Mischief have they not done since the *Revolution*, by obstructing all those Measures that confirm'd and strengthen'd it ? I desire the Reader to observe, what Tenderneſs King *James* had for some of those *haunch Churchmen* ; and the whole Party may depend upon it, that the pretended Son of the Abdicated Monarch, has been sufficiently inform'd of their good Will to King *James*, and that they have

have themselves only in View in all their Actions. We never hear of *Non-Resistance* and *Divine Right* when they are in Power. They never talk of Preserving the Church of *England* by the Protection of a Popish Prince, but when they are out of Play. They had no more Kindness for King *James* and his Title, than he had for them, their Lives and Estates. They only wanted a Pretence to disguise their Avarice and Ambition, and have therefore made that Use of him and his Pretender. Let us see what Usage they may expect from such a King as he would make them, by what Treatment they met with from King *James* in this Bill of *Attainder*; and we shall find there this

L I S T of Staunch Church-Men, Attainted by King James, in the Year 1689.

<i>James</i> , Duke of Ormond.	<i>Bulkley</i> , Viscount <i>Bulkley</i> .
<i>John</i> , Duke of Buckingham and Normanby.	<i>Maurice</i> , Viscount <i>Fitzharding</i> .
<i>Charles</i> , Duke of Shrewsbury.	<i>William</i> , Lord <i>Digby</i> .
<i>James</i> , Earl of Anglesea.	<i>Beaumont</i> , Visc. <i>Swords</i> .
<i>Killers</i> , Viscount <i>Grandison</i> .	<i>Popham Conway</i> , alias <i>Seymour</i> , Esq;
<i>George</i> , Viscount <i>Castleton</i> .	Sir <i>Richard Reynells</i> .
<i>Scudamore</i> , Viscount <i>Scudamore</i> .	Sir <i>William Courtney</i> .
	Sir <i>Matthew Bridges</i> .
	Sir <i>Robert Holmes</i> .
	Sir <i>Richard May</i> .

And a great many more of all Ranks and Degrees. Nay, the Chief Justice *Keatings's* Nephew, Mr. *Edmund Keating* was Attainted, while he was actually in King *James's* Service at the Siege of *Derry*,

Derry; being a Cornet of Horse in that Army. Some of these Gentlemen last mention'd, while they were under this Act of *Attainder* in Ireland, voted in England against the making the Prince of Orange King; and were so over Loyal, that they wou'd have kept the Crown on the Head of that Prince, who had got a Law for Hanging, Drawing and Quartering them. This Madness was so infectious, that some even of the *Irish Protestants* of Ireland, who had suffer'd so much from the Tyranny of *Tyrconnel*, and other Favourites of King James, were in Hopes, that a King, with his *Hereditary Right*, would never use them so barbarously; and that he, who never kept his Word with them, wou'd break his own Act of Parliament in their Favour. What his Grace the Archbishop of *Dublin* tells us on this Head, is very remarkable; and shews the Infatuation and Stupidity of that Party of Men.

We may observe, says he, *the Folly of those Men, who were Attainted in this Act themselves; and yet flatter themselves with the Hopes of living happily, and enjoying their Estates, nay, and getting Preferment under King James, when restor'd to his Kingdoms. These Men do not consider, that this Act wou'd be restor'd together with him; and that then it is not in his Power to do this for them. That if they expect any such Thing they must be oblig'd to an Irish Popish Parliament for it; and he is much a Stranger to Ireland, that knows not what Mercy an Englishman and a Protestant is to expect from them; especially, when they can give him nothing, but what is taken from one of Themselves. Tell, therefore, the Papists of England become so good natur'd, as to give away, by their own voluntary Act, their Estates (of which they were in Actual Possession) to Protestants, it is*
the

the greatest Folly in the World, for any Protestant to think of enjoying any Estate in Ireland.

Thus we see, how fond the *Staunch Churchmen* were of the *Right Heirship* : They did not care what became of themselves ; and who *had their own Estates*, if they cou'd have their Hereditary King again. They were so silly as to think, that he, who had turn'd them out of their own Houses, wou'd take them into his, and give them Places at Court. Good God ! Was there ever *Stupidity*, ever *Infatuation*, comparable to that of our *Tories*, *English* and *Irish* ?

I shall not trouble the Reader with the Two famous Acts of Parliament, that of *Attainder*, and that of *Repeal* ; they are too long to be inserted entire : But not doubting he will be very well entertain'd, to see what Colour that Traiterous Assembly gave to their Barbarous and Illegal Practices, I shall repeat the Preamble to those two Acts. By the first, he will see what was their Sense of the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition for our Deliverance : By the Second ; what a Turn they gave to their Massacre and Rebellion in 1641 ; which occasion'd the Forfeitures, that were dispos'd of by the Acts of *Settlement* and *Explanation*.

The Preamble to King James's Act of Attainder of 2500 Protestant Lords and Gentlemen in Ireland, 1689.

We humbly beseech your Majesty, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled ; That whereas a most horrid Invasion has been made, by your unnatural Enemy the Prince of Orange ; invited thereunto, and assisted by many of your Majesty's Rebellious and
Traiterous

Traiterous Subjects, of your Majesty's Dominions ; and such their Inviting and Assisting made manifest, by their perfidious Deserting your Majesty's Service ; in which, by your many Princely Obligations, besides their natural Duties, they were bounden : And having likewise to obtain their wicked Ends, Rais'd and Levy'd, open Rebellion and War, in several Places in this Kingdom, and enter'd into Associations, and met in Conventions, in order to call in and set up the said Prince of Orange ; as well in Ulster and Connaught, as in the other Provinces of Munster and Leiceſter. To quell which, Your Sacred Majesty's late Deputy in this Kingdom, Richard, then Earl, and now Duke of Tyrconnel, before Your Majesty's happy Arrival in this Kingdom ; and Your Sacred Majesty, since Your Arrival here, have been necessitated to raise an Army, to your Majesty's great Charge and Expence. And though the said Rebels and Traytors, after the having the Impudence to declare for the Prince and Princess of Orange against Your Sacred Majesty, were with all Mildness and Humanity called into their Allegiance, by Proclamations and Promises of Pardon for their past Offences, and Protection for the future : And though some of the said Proclamations assured Pardon to all such as should submit themselves ; and that no Persons were excepted in the last Proclamation, besides very few, not exceeding Ten in Number ; and few or none of any Note came in, in Obedience thereto ; and that very many of the Persons who came in upon Protection, and took the Oath of Allegiance to your Majesty, were afterwards found among the Rebels in open Arms and Hostility, when taken Prisoners or Killed, such Protection being found with them ; (So villanous were they by adding Perjury to their Crimes) ; That it may be Enacted, and be it Enacted by your Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c. It

It will not be improper to observe, that this Expression of the *Protections* being found about the *Protestants*, is King *James's* own, and was first us'd by him on this Occasion. Several Gentlemen and others, in the County of *Down*, took out *Protections*, and liv'd quietly; yet not only their Goods were taken from them, but their Wives and Daughters were ravish'd by the Soldiers.

They were most sensible and impatient of this Injury; and yet proceeded no farther, than to complain of it to the Chief Officers. The Answer they had, was, *That these Robbers and Ravishers had no Authority from the King for what they did: And therefore they advised the Complainants to fall on them, and oppose them, if they made any further Attempts on the Country.* The poor People were satisfy'd with this Answer, and resolv'd to do as they were directed; and accordingly fell upon the next Party of Soldiers they found plundering and committing Outrages on the Country-People; and they kill'd some of them. This, instead of being approv'd, (as they were made to believe it wou'd be) was accounted a Rebellion: And immediately Major-General *Bobun* was sent among them with a Party, who massacr'd about Five or Six Hundred of them in cold Blood, for several Days together. Many of those that were kill'd, were poor, old, impotent People. Many were kill'd at their Work, and while they were busy about their own Affairs, not suspecting any such Matter.

King *James* was so far from resenting the barbarous Usage of these innocent People, that he rail'd on this Occasion against *Protestants* in
gene-

general, representing them as false and perfidious : For, said he, *many were kill'd with my Protection in their Pockets ; not considering the Reflection was on his own Party, against whom his Protection (as appear'd by his own Confession) was no Security.*

The Preamble to King James's ACT of REPEAL, which took away Two Thirds of the PROTESTANTS Estates in Ireland, A. D. 1689.

W Hereas the Ambition and Avarice of the Lords Justices, ruling over this your Kingdom in 1641, did engage them to gather a malignant Party and Cabal of the then Privy-Council, contrary to their sworn Faith and natural Allegiance, in a secret Intelligence and traiterous Combination with the Puritan Sectaries in the Realm of Great-Britain, against their Lawful and Undoubted Sovereign, his Peace, Crown and Dignity ; the Malice of which made it soon manifest in the Nature and Tendency of their Proceedings, their untimely Prorogations of a Loyal Unanimous Parliament, and thereby making void and disappointing the Effects of many Reasonable Votes, Bills and Addresses, which passed into Laws, had certainly secur'd the Peace and Tranquility of this Kingdom ; by binding to His Majesty the Hearts of his Irish Subjects, as well by the Ties of Affection and Gratitude, as Duty and Allegiance there. The said Lords Justices traiterously Disbanding his Majesty's well-affected Catholick Forces, when his Person and Monarchy were expos'd to the said Rebel-Sectaries, then marching in Hostile Arms to despoil him of his Power, Dominions and Life ; Their immediate calling into the Place and Stead of those his Majesty's faithful disbanded Forces,

a for-

a formidable Body of disciplin'd Troops, ally'd and confederated in Cause, Nation and Principles, with those Rebel-Sectaries: Their unwarrantable Entertainment of those Troops in this Kingdom, to the draining of his Majesty's Treasury, and Terror of his Catholick Subjects, then openly menac'd by them the aforesaid Lords Justices, with a Massacre and total Extirpation; their bloody Prosecution of that Menace, in the Slaughter of many innocent Persons; thereby affrighting and compelling others (in Despair of Protection from their Government,) to unite, and take Arms for their necessary Defence, and Preservation of their Lives; their unpardonable Prepanication from his Majesty's Orders to them, in retrenching the Time by him graciously given to his Subjects so compell'd into Arms, of returning to their Duty; confusing the General Pardon to such only as had no Freehold Estates to make Forfeitures of; their pernicious Arts in way-laying, exchanging, and wickedly depriving all Interchange by Letters, Expresses, and other Communication and Privacy, betwixt your said Royal Father and his much abused People, &c.

Then the Act sets forth, how they tortur'd Sir John Read; and how the Duke of Ormond follow'd the Steps of those Lords Justices, in procuring the Acts of Settlement, and Explanations.

After which it proceeds:

Which last Act was pass'd in a Session of the said Parliament held in this Kingdom, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Years of his Reign; most of the Members thereof being such as forcibly possess'd themselves of the Estates of your Catholick Subjects in this Kingdom, and were conven'd together for the sole Purpose of

creating and granting to themselves and their Heirs, the Estates and Inheritances of this your Kingdom of Ireland, upon a scandalous false Hypothesis, imputing the traitorous Design of some desperate indigent Persons, to seize your Majesty's Castle of Dublin, on the 22d of October 1641, to an Universal Conspiracy of your Catholick Subjects, &c.

Thus did King James, by this Act, justify the Grand Irish Rebellion, wherein those inhuman Butchers slaughter'd 200000 Men, Women and Children. They were in Arms Ten Years against the Government of England, and committed all Sorts of Acts of Cruelty and Rapine. This good King explains it all away, or reduces it to a pitiful Plot of a few Rascally Fellows, to pilfer the Castle of Dublin. 'Tis very likely indeed, there shou'd be a Plot carry'd on by Papists in that City, to seize the Seat of the Government; and the rest of them, in all the other Parts of the Kingdom, to be innocent and ignorant of the Matter.

There is almost as many notorious Falsties as Sentences in this Bill, to which the Abdicated King most piously gave his Royal Assent; and took away, as the Archbishop of Dublin informs us, more Estates from the Protestants of Ireland, than those of all the Jacobites in Great-Britain put together.

There were Abundance of Petitions deliver'd to the Parliament, as they call'd themselves, in behalf of the Protestants; and even the Roman-Catholicks of Galway, and other Places, where there were any Rich Papists, join'd with the Protestants against the Bill; themselves having pur-

purchas'd under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation ; but it all signify'd nothing.

The Protestants got a very fine Remonstrance drawn up, setting forth the Unreasonableness and Injustice of that Act ; which was presented to King *James* by the Earl of *Granard* : The King read it through, and gave for Answer, *He would not do Evil, that Good might come of it.* Which had either no Meaning at all, as he spoke it ; or meant, that he would not deprive the Papists of so many good Estates, to prevent the Ruin it would bring upon the Protestants. By this still he obey'd exactly the Injunction of his Patron, the *French King*, to strengthen and enrich the *Irish*.

Instead of a *Court of Claims*, which (with great Tenderness to the Papists) was erected in King *Charles* the II^d's Time, to keep as many Estates as they could with any manner of Plausibility, in the Possession of the Papists ; the *Irish* had a quick way to recover their Lands from the Protestant Purchasers. They had no Court to apply to, where abundance of Forms, and a great Expence, with much Sollicitation, were necessary. They need only apply to the Lord-Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenant of the County ; who sent immediate Notice to the Possessor, of such Application to him ; and then gave his Warrant to a Captain of Horse, or Foot, to put the Claimant in Possession. As was practis'd in the Case of *John Annesley*, Esq; of *Ballysannon*, in the County of *Rik-dare*.

First came this Letter to him.

L. 2.

S I R,

S I R,

THis is to let you understand, that I am authorized to give the Proprietor Possession of the Lands of Ballysannon, &c. according to the Act of Parliament; and that you may not be surprized therein, I give you this Notice, from

S I R,

Your Loving Friend and Servant,

Naas the 8th of

April, 1690.

C H A. W H I T E.

For John Annelley, Esq; or
in his Absence, to Francis
Annelley, Esq; these.

After this comes the Warrant, for the Delivery of the House and Lands.

WHereas Luke Fitzgerald, Esq; has prov'd himself before me, to be the Ancient Proprietor of the Towns and Lands of Ballysannon; and that his Ancestors were possess'd of the Mansion-House there, in the Year 1641: I do therefore, in pursuance of His Majesty's Orders unto me, appoint the under-named Persons, to give Possession of the Mansion-House there, to Luke Fitzgerald, Esquire. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal, this 6th Day of May, 1690.

C H A. W H I T E.

I do

I do hereby appoint Captain Walter Archbold, or Captain John Dillon, of Athy, to give Possession of the Mansion-House of Ballynannon, to Luke Fitzgerald, Esquire.

This was quick Work. No tedious Process. No Judgment and Execution; No Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Constables: But a Warrant from an Officer; and a Party of Horse or Foot, to see it executed.

All King James's Business was done by the Soldiery. He affected to make as little use of Law, and Lawyers, as possible. He had a Contempt for the Civil Magistrate, and would fain have introduced the Art of Governing by Dragoons and Granadiers.

The Injustice of King James and his Irish Parliament, in the Act of Repeal, without making any Provision for the Damages which the Purchasers under the Act of Settlement would sustain, by the Loss of their Purchase-Money, and their Disbursements in Buildings, Improvements, &c. was such, that the very Popish Bishop Maloney could not allow of it. For he writes thus to the Irish Bishop Tyrrell, in the Letter before spoken of. One Objection remains to solve, which is that of the Purchasers of New Interests bona fide. Must they lose their Purchase and Money? To which I answer; That altho' it may be reply'd, Caveat Emptor; yet because they are Persons useful to the Government, and acted bona fide, (seeing the Estate cut off the Ancient Proprietors Hands, by so many Publick Acts, as it was not like ever to come to him again;) there ought an Expedient to be found for the like, that they be not Losers; and that

either they, or the Ancient Proprietors, may be recompensed one way or other, rather than it should be an Obstacle to the Common Good.

There were several Lords about him, that did not approve of his Conduct, especially his governing himself so entirely by French Counsels. The Duke of Pous declar'd himself to the Protestants, very much against the Proceedings of the pretended Parliament, and us'd his Interest with the King, to put a stop to them, but did not succeed in it. The Lord Dover, for expressing his Dissatisfaction at the Prevalency of the French Measures, was dismiss'd from all his Employments, and apply'd to the Court of England for a Pass, and Pardon; which being granted, he left King James before the Battle of the Boyne, return'd to England, and liv'd peaceably at his Seat in Suffolk. He was so sensible of King James's Designs to destroy the Protestant and English Interest in Ireland, that he could not help discovering them to a Gentleman of that Religion, who had some Discourse with him a few Days after he arriv'd from Brest. That Gentleman was going for England, and whether it was that the Lord Dover endeavour'd to ingratiate himself by it with the Protestants, so as to make the procuring his Pardon the more certain and easy; whether it was meerly out of the Generosity of his Temper, and his Abhorrence of King James's Tyrannical Measures, he assur'd that Gentleman; That there were Spies, who gave the Duke of Tyrconnel an Account of every Thing that was done and said in London, especially at Whitehall. He therefore advis'd him, when he came to England, to be upon his Guard, for if he spoke his Mind freely, Notice wou'd be given of it.

in *Gallia* Ireland, and immediately his Friends there would be ruin'd. He said further, That the French King had made Solemn Promises to assist King James with 25000 Men, and 500000*l*. but he would restore him to his Dominions. That that Prince told his Friend, since he left England, that he ruin'd himself by his own Misfortune, being too merciful to the Protestants. And for that Reason he would send Monsieur de Arnaux along with him, to prevent his falling into the like Error for the Future. He added, The Project here is, that a considerable Body of the Irish Army, as soon as *Derry* has submitted, shall be transported to Scotland, and thence march directly, with what Forces shall join him in the Kingdom, to the North of England. And to make a Diversion to King William, the French King has promis'd to invade *Flanders* with a mighty Army, and at one Time Besiege several Places. He concluded, King James has more Friends in England than you think; and is in hopes to see the Protestants fall out among themselves in a little while. In order to this it was, that his Emisaries cry'd out the Church was in Danger, and Presbytery would be too hard for Episcopacy. A Clamour that has been the Life of the Jacobite Cause, which had been bury'd by this Time in Eternal Contempt and Oblivion, but for the Folly and Bigottry of some thoughtless Zealots, who have not been able to distinguish between them, and the true Interest and Security of our Protestant Church.

Lord Dover was not the only Man of Quality us'd ill by King James, after having left all to follow and serve him. Sir Charles Murray went from England to France with him, and came with him from France to Ireland, shewing on all Occasions a more than ordinary Zeal for his Ser-

vice; yet being not so zealous for Popery, and unwilling to part with that little *Protestantism* he had, he was clapp'd up a Prisoner in the Fort of *Rivale*, as soon as King *James* arriv'd there, and laid there several Months, without being able to learn any Reason for his Confinement. At last, standing in need of his Assistance to fortify *Arde*, he was set at Liberty, but could never know who was his Accuser, what was his Offence; or get any Satisfaction. They did not care to speak plainly that it was because he was not a Papist, but they had no other Cause of Complaint against him, he being as ready to join in any Arbitrary Measures of Government, as the most Bigotted Papist among them; and truly, there is little or no Difference between the *Tories* and *Papists*, on that Head.

His Usage of *Sir Edward Herbert*, was another Proof of his Inveteracy to our Religion; no Services, no Obligations, had any Weight with him, if those that serv'd and oblig'd him, were against Popery. He made that Knight Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and caus'd a Seal to be Cut for him, but he never allow'd him that Interest with him, or had that Regard for him in Council, which his Place requir'd. The Popish Judges had more Influence on the King, and could make bolder with him, than he. He was not admitted to the Secret of Affairs at all; and at the Council-Table, he was set below *Fulton*, Chancellor of *Ireland*, and several others, whom, in his Master's Presence, he ought to have Preceded, as Chancellor of *England*. 'Twon'd be endless, if we shou'd go about to give all the Instances of King *James's* Ingratitude to his Prote-

Protestant Servants. He suffer'd the Chief Justice *Heating's* Son to be Attainted, while he was actually in his Service at the Siege of *Derry*. The House of Commons being inform'd that the Lord *Forbes* Son to the Earl of *Granard*, was imprison'd in the Tower, for adhering to King *James's* Interest in England; 'twas reported that they would have spar'd that Lord's Estate at *Mullingar*, which he held under the Act of Settlement, especially since it belong'd to a Corporation, and not to private Persons; but they would not hear of it, and only put in a Clause, for the Commissioners appointed by their Act of *Repeal*, to set him out a Reprizal, where they could find one; which a Member of that House term'd very well, a *Monthful of Moon-Shine*; and King *James* gave his Assent to their using thus a Nobleman, who was in Prison for his Loyalty to him. As ungenerous and ungrateful was his Treatment of Col. *Russel*, who was Governor of *Galloway*, and commanded the best Regiment of Horse in that Kingdom; wherey when King *James* arriv'd, he was first turn'd out of his Government, and soon after his Commission of Colonel was taken from him. The Colonel being highly dissatisfy'd at this Usage, waited on him, and humbly laid before him, his constant Services to his Father, his Brother, and himself; and what an Affliction it was to have his Loyalty now call'd in Question. The King reply'd, *He must needs confess, and own all he had said was true, but it was also as true, that he was now under Circumstances, that would not permit him to trust any Man of his Religion. Tho' he was as High a Churchman as ever profess'd it, and as much devoted to Passive-Obedience, and Non-Resistance*

stance, &c. but 'twas all one, King James wou'd trust no Body that was of the Profession of the Church of England. The same Usage Sir Thomas Newcomen met with: He had a Regiment, and was one of those who kept his Seat at the Council-Board, for his Compliance with Tyrconnel, till King James came to Ireland; he then was dismiss'd the Council, and had his Regiment taken from him, meerly because he was a Church-of-England-Man. Colonel Sarsfield applying to him for Commissions for Two of his Relations, who were Protestants, and offering to be bound for their Fidelity, King James reply'd, *I will trust none of 'em.* And at the same Time coming from Chapel, some of his Courtiers falling into Discourse about the Protestants, he told them they stunk in his Nostrils.

Before I proceed further in the History of King James's Tyranny in that Kingdom, I will enquire into the Proceedings of that Traitorous Assembly, which he call'd his Parliament. And by them we shall see, what a Regard he had for the Interest of England, which he always pretended, and protested to have so much at Heart: He gave the Royal Assent to

An Act, declaring that the Parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and against Writs of Error and Appeals to be brought for removing Judgments, Decrees and Sentences given in Ireland, into England.

An Act for taking off all Incapacities on the Natives of Ireland.

An Act for prohibiting the Importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh Coals.

An Act for Encouragement of Strangers to Inhabit and Plant in the Kingdom of Ireland.

These Acts tend all directly to disunite Ireland from England; and as it is impossible for Ireland to maintain an Independency on England, without Foreign Help, whence cou'd they expect it but from France; and wou'd the French King send him Fleets and Armies out of pure Friendship, to support them in such an Independency? Is not this sufficient to gain Credit for the Treaty I have inserted,* between King Lewis and King James, with reference to the Kingdom of Ireland? Or does it not give one very good Grounds to believe, there were some such Stipulations, if not the same between them?

I need not explain the above-mention'd Bills, the Titles of them are enough to shew how the English Interest was affected by them; and the Titles of those that follow, will Evidence the intended Destruction of the Religion and Properties of the Protestants in that Kingdom. The Abdicated King gave his Royal Assent also to, *An Act for Annulling, and making void all Patents of Offices for Life, or during good Behaviour.*

By this Act Sir Charles Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Baldwin, Esq; Examiner in Chancery, Sir John Topham, and Sir John Coghill, Masters in Chancery, lost their Places. The Administration having been so long in Protestant Hands, and the Laws having so dispos'd of the Places, most of them must of Course be in the Possession of Proprietors of that Religion; but

but by this Bill they were all depriv'd of them, and Papists succeeded in them throughout the Kingdom. When King James was at Dublin, and ferled his Treasury and Revenue, the only Protestant Officers in all Ireland, concern'd in any Branches of it, were

Richard Collins, Esq; } Commissioners of the Re-
 Sir William Ellis, } venue, with 3 Papists.
 Mr. James Bonnel, Accomptant-General.
 Mr. Nathaniel Evans, Clerk to the Commis-
 sioners.

- Mr. William Aleock, Examiner of the Post Ac-
 counts, and Warrants, and Cashier.

Mr. Sinolphus Bellasis, Clerk of the Coast.

Mr. John Kent, Land-Surveyor, and Comptrol-
 ler of the Store.

Mr. Edward Prescot, Land-Surveyor.

Mr. John Robinson,

Mr. Dennis Boyle, } Land-Waiters.

Mr. Francis Isaacson, }

Mr. Bartholomew Wybrantz, Storekeeper,

Mr. Francis Babe, Collector of the Excise.

Mr. Barnard Waigh, Surveyor-General of the
 Excise.

Mr. Benjamin Pourning, Examiner of Diaries.

Mr. Henry Davis, } Surveyors of Excise.

Mr. Jacob Walton, }

Mr. Nicholas Topping, Surveyor at Foxford.

Mr. Samuel Pigeon, Surveyor at Kilkenny.

To let the World see what an especial Care
 King James took of the Church of England, and
 the Clergy, whom he had promis'd, and Sworn
 to maintain in all their Rights and Privileges.
 He past the following Bills in Parliament.

An Act for Liberty of Conscience, and repealing such Acts; or Clauses in any Act of Parliament, which are inconsistent with the same.

An Act for Repealing a Statute, Intituled, An Act for Provision of Ministers in Cities, and Corporate Towns.

By this Act, the Ministers in Cities and Corporations, were stript of all their Dues, and left no other Provision than that Popish Assembly thought fit to grant them, which was as bad as nothing at all.

An Act concerning Tithes, and other Ecclesiastical Dues.

By this Bill, the Roman Catholicks were to pay all their Tythes to their own Clergy, and most of the Protestants having left the Kingdom, and the rest that remain'd, having lost what Substance they had, the Protestant Clergy cou'd expect nothing. Besides this, the Popish Clergy got Leases of the Livings of such of the Protestant Clergy as were gone out of Ireland. Other Acts of the same Tendency, to root out the Profession of the Reform'd Religion, were pass'd by him in this Mock Parliament. What he did to impoverish the Protestants, and reduce them all to Want and Beggary, appears by the Act of Repeal, and Act of Attainder, which also condemn'd them to lose their Lives, as well as their Estates; and to make sure Work, several Acts Explanatory of those, had his Royal Assent; as,

An Act for vesting in his Majesty, the Goods of Absentees.

By this Bill it was Penal, for any one to have Absentees Goods in his Hands, and not to discover them. In order to which, they Seiz'd the Books of several Merchants, to find out the Effects of Absentees by the Accounts of their Correspondents.

An Act for Punishment of Waste committed on Lands restorable to the Proprietors.

Many of the Purchasers of those Lands, had built fair Houses, and Villages on them, inclos'd Deer-Parks, Planted Orchards and Gardens, and laid out vast Sums on these, and other Improvements. Nothing cou'd be a greater Hardship, than to turn them out of the Lands they had purchas'd, and give them no Consideration for their Improvements. The Owners apply'd to King *James* himself, for Relief in this Case. The Lord Chief-Justice *Keating* drew up a Representation for them; but instead of giving them any Relief, he pass'd this *Bill*, by which those that had cut down Wood, or pull'd down old Houses, tho' for the Improving or maintaining the Premises, were accountable for committing Waste; and many of the Purchasers were Arrested, brought to *Dublin*, thrown into Goal, and forc'd to make the old Proprietors what Satisfaction they pleas'd, or else they must starve, and rot in Prison.

In

In the Act of *Repeal* there was a Clause, that with a very little Straining, would have drawn in all Protestants, who were any way concern'd or interested in Ireland: *Be it Enacted, That all Mannors, and Lands &c. and all Estates and Interests whatsoever, in Law and Equity, which on the first of August, 1688, or at any Time since, belonged to any in Rebellion in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or who corresponded, or kept Intelligence, or went contrary to their Allegiance, to Dwell or Stay among the said Rebels, or any of them, or was any way Aiding, Assisting, or Abetting them, or any of them, are forfeited and vested, from the said first of August, 1688, and freed from all Estates, Tayles, Remainders and Reversions. By this Clause, almost every Protestant in Ireland, that cou'd Write, had forfeited his Estate; for the Packets went from London to Dublin, and back, constantly, from August to March, 1688, and few had Friends in England, but corresponded with them by Letters; and every such Letter, is made by this Clause, a Forfeiture of Estate. They intercepted and search'd every Packet that went or came, and kept vast Heaps of Letters, which were of no Consequence at all to the Government. The Protestants wonder'd what they meant by it; but when this Parliament Sat, they found it out; for not only to have Proof against those whom they design'd to Prosecute by this Clause, they kept them to produce them as Evidence in the House of Commons, against those that appear'd in Behalf of their absent Friends. It was the End of September, 1688, before they heard any Thing in Ireland, of the Prince of Orange's Design to make a Descent into England; and yet to have been in England*
or

or *Scotland* at any Time in the Month before, or to have corresponded with any there, is made Forfeiture of Estate by the Letter of this Statute.

Such was the King the *Tories* would have forc'd us to take again; such was he, in his Parliamentary Capacity: I will in the next Place prove, that he was more a Tyrant than even this Mock Parliament, than even his *Irish* Papiſts cou'd bear. But before I Diſcourſe of the Extravagance of his Tyranny, I ſhall ſhew what a rare Parcel of Legislators he pickt up, to pack his *Irish* Convention.

A LIST of the Houſe of Commons, which ſat at *Dublin* the 7th of *May*, 1689, Summon'd by the Writs of the Abdicated King of *England*, *James II.*

Com. <i>Ardmagh.</i>	{ <i>Arthur Brownloe</i> <i>Walter Harpendon</i> } Esquires.
Bur. <i>Ardmagh.</i>	{ <i>Francis Staphard</i> , Esq; <i>Constantine O Neile</i> , Esq; 16th of <i>May</i> , 89.
Bur. <i>Charlémont.</i>	
Com. <i>Antrim.</i>	{ <i>Cormuck O Neile</i> <i>Randal Mac Donel</i> } Esqrs.
Bur. <i>Carrickfergus.</i>	
Burrough <i>Belfast.</i>	<i>Mark Talbot</i> , Esq;
Bur. <i>Lisbourn.</i>	{ <i>Daniel O Neile</i> , Esq; 20th <i>May</i> , 89.
Bur. <i>Antrim.</i>	
Com. <i>Catherlogh.</i>	{ <i>Dudley Bagnal</i> <i>Henry Lutterel</i> } Esqrs.
Bur. <i>Catherlogh.</i>	{ <i>Mark Baggot</i> , <i>John Warren</i> , } Esqrs.

Bur.

Bur. old Laughlin,	{ Darby Long } Esqrs.
	{ Daniel Doran }
Com. Cork.	{ Justin Mac Carty, Esq; }
	{ Sir Richard Nagle, Kt. }
Town of Youghall.	{ Thomas Uniack } Aldermen.
	{ Edward Gough }
Town of Kinsale.	{ Andrew Murrough } Esqrs.
	{ Miles de Courcey }
Bur. Baltimore.	{ Daniel O Donavan } Esqrs.
	{ Jeremiah O Donavan }
	{ Charles Mac Carty of }
Bur. Bandonbridge.	{ Balboa } Esqrs.
	{ Daniel Mac Carty }
	{ Reagh }
Bur. Cloghnerkilty.	{ Lieutenant-Col. Owen Mac }
	{ Carty }
	{ Daniel Fyn Mac Carty, Esq; }
Bur. Middletowne.	{ Dermot Long } Esqrs.
	{ John Longan }
	{ John Barret of Ca- }
Bur. Moyallow.	{ flemore } Esqrs.
	{ David Nagle of }
	{ Carrigoone }
Manor and Borough	{ James Barry } Esqrs.
of Rathcormuck.	{ Edward Powell }
	{ Donello Donovan }
Manor of Donerail.	{ John Baggot Jun. of } Esqrs.
	{ Baggotstown }
	{ John Baggot of Bag- }
Bur. Charleville.	{ gotstown, Sen. } Esqrs.
	{ John Power of Kill- }
	{ belone. }
	{ Sir James Cotter, Kt. }
City of Cork.	{ John Galway, Esq; }

- Com. Cavan. { Phil. Reily of Agbni-
erry } Elqrs
John Reily of Garry-
robach
- Bur. Cavan. { Phil. Oge O Reily }
Hagb Royly of } Elqrs.
Larba
- Bur. Belurbet. { Sir Edward Tyrrel, Bart.
Tuit of Newca-
ble, Esq; }
- Com. Clare. { David O Brian }
John Mac Nemara } Elqrs.
of Crattelagh.
- Bur. Ennis. { Florence Mac Carty }
of Dromad } Elqrs.
Theob. Butler of } 10 May,
Szabnogalloon } 89.
- Com. Down. { Murtagh Magennis of }
Greencastle } Elqrs.
Ever Magennis of }
Castlewelan }
- Bur. Hillsborough.
- Bur. Nerry. { Rowland Wite }
Rowland Savage } Elqrs.
- Bur. Bangor.
- Bur. Keleleagh. { Bernard Magennis of Balli-
goribbeg, Esq; }
Toel O Neile of Droman-
kelly, Gent.
- Bur. Down.
New-town.
- Com. Dublin. { Symon Lutterel of Lut-
trelstown }
Patr. Sarsfield, Jun. } Elqrs.
of Lucan }

Bar. Swords.	{	Fra. Barnwell of Wood- park Co. Meath.	{	Esqs
		Robert Russel of Dryn- barn		
Bar. Newcastle.	{	Thomas Arthur of Co.- gans-town	{	Esqrs.
		John Talbot of Bel- gard		
City of Dublin.	{	Sir Michael Creagh, Kc.		
		Terence Dermot, Sen. Alder- man.		
College of Dublin.	{	Sir John Mead, Kc.		
		Joseph Coghlan, Esq;		
Town of Drogheda.	{	Henry Dowdal, Esq; Re- corder.		
		Alderman Christopher Pap- pard Fitz George.		
Com. Donnegall.				
Lifford.				
Ballyshannon.				
Killebeggs.				
Donnegal.				
St. Johns-town.	{	Sir William Ellis, Kc.		
		Lieut. Col. James Nugent,		
Com. Galway.	{	Sir Ulick Bourke		
		Sir Walter Blake		Baronets.
Bar. Athenree.	{	James Talbot of		
		Mount-Talbot		
		Charles Daly of		Esqs.
		Dunsandale		
Bar. Thom.	{	James Lally of Tul- lindaly		
		William Burke of		Esqs.
Town of Galway.	{	Carrowfrila		
		Oliver Martin		
		John Kirwan		Esqs.

Com. Kilkenny.	{ John Grace of Courts- town Robert Welsh of Clooneshy } Esqrs.
Bur. Callaim.	{ Walter Butler Thady Meagher } Esqrs.
Bur. Thomas-town.	{ Robert Grace, Sen. Robert Grace, Jun. } Esqrs.
Bur. Gowran.	{ Richard Butler Walter Keily, Dr. of Physick. } Esqrs.
	Coll. Robert Fielding, by a new Election
Bur. Inishoge.	{ Edward Fitzgerald James Bolger } Esqrs.
Bur. Knocktopher.	{ Harry Morris Henry Meagh } Esqrs.
City of Kilkenny.	{ John Roosh, Esq; Mayor James Bryan Alderman, &c May, 1689.
Bur. Kells.	{ Patrick Everard John Delamare. } Esqrs.
Bur. St. Canice.	{ John Wogan } Esqrs.
Com. Kildare.	{ George Aylmer } Esqrs.
Bur. Naas.	{ Walter Lord Dungan. Charles White, Esq; } Esqrs.
Bur. Athy.	{ William Fitzgerald William Archbold } Esqrs.
Bur. Harristown.	{ James Nigbell Edmund Fitzgerald } Esqrs.
Bur. Kildare.	{ Francis Leigh Robert Porter } Esqrs.
Kings-County.	{ Edward Oxburgh Owen Kerrall } Esqrs.

Bur. Phillips-town.	{ John Conner Heward Oxburgh }	Esqrs.
Bur. Banagher.	{ Terence Cogblan, Esq; Terence Cogblan, Gent. }	
Bur. Birr.		
Com. Kerry.	{ Nicholas Brown, Esq; Sir Thomas Crosby, Knt. Morric Hussey of Kerries }	Esqrs.
Bur. Tralee.	{ John Brown of Ardagh. }	Esqrs.
Bur. Dingle Icouch.	{ Edw. Rice Ritz. James of Ballin- leggin John Hussey of Cu- bullin (Com.) Lym }	Esqrs
Bur. Ardfart.	{ Coll. Roger Mac Eligott Cornelius Mac Gil- licuddy }	Esqrs.
Com. Longford.	{ Roger Farrell Robert Farrell }	Esqrs.
Bur. Lanesborough.	{ Oliver Fitzgerald Roger Farrell }	Esqrs.
Town of Longford.		
Com. Lowth.	{ Thomas Bellew William Talbot }	Esqrs.
Bur. Atherdee.	{ Hugh Gernon John Babe }	Esqrs.
Bur. Dundalk.	{ Robert Dermott John Dowdall }	Esqrs.
Bur. Carlingford.	{ Christoph. Peppard Fitz Ignatius Bryan Dermod }	Esqrs.
Durlier.		

Com. Lymerick.	{ Sir John Fitzgerald, Bart. Gerald Fitzgerald Esq; com- monly called Knight of the Glynn.	
Bur. Kilmallock.	{ Sir William Harley, Baronet. John Lacy, Esq;	
Bur. Askeaton.	{ John Bourk of Car- rickinobill Edward Rice	} Esqrs.
City of Lymerick.	{ Nich. Arbur Tho. Harrold	} Aldermen.
Com. Leittim.	{ Edmond Reynolds Irrel Farrell	} Esqrs.
Bur. James-town.	{ Alexander Mac Donnel William Shanley	} Esquires, 15th May 1689.
Carrickdrumrusk.	{ Garret Moor Walter Bourk	} Esqrs.
Com. Mayo.	{ John Bermingham, Portreeve Thomas Bourk, Esq;	
Cartlebar.	{ Sir William Talbot Sir Pat. Barnwall	} Barts.
Com. Meath.	{ John Hussey James Fitzgerald	} Esqrs.
Bur. Ratoath.	{ Captain Nicholas Cusack Walter Nangle, Esq;	
Bur. Trim.	{ Christopher Cusack of Corballis Christ. Cusack of Ratholdran	} Esqrs.
Bur. of Navan.	{ John Trinder Robert Longfield	} Esqrs.
Bur. Athboy.		
Duleek.		

Com. Monaghan.

Bryan Mac Mahon } Esqrs.
Hugh Mac Mahon } 9th July
1689.

**Town of Monaghan.
Conn. Fermanagh.
Enniskillen.**

Queens County.

{ Sir Patrick Trant, Knight.
{ Edmond Morris, Esq;

But. Maryborough.

Peirce Bryan
Thady Fitz Patrick } Esqrs.

Bur. Ballinkill.

{ Sir Gregory Bourne, Baronet.
 { Oliver Grace, Esq;

Port Arlington

Sir Henry Bond, Baronet.
Sir Thomas Hacker, Knight.

Com. Roscommon.

Charles Kelly, Esq;
John Bourk.

Bur. Roscommon.

{ John Dillon } Esqrs.
{ John Kelly }

But. Boyle.

John King, Captain.
Terence Mac Dermot Alder.
6th May, 1689.

Tulske.

Com. Sligoe.

{ Henry Croston,
Oliver O Gara } Esqrs.

Bar. Sligo.

{ Terence Mac Do- } Esqrs.
 nagh : 1689. } 8th May
 { James French } 1689.

Com. Tipperary.

{ Nicholas Purcell of }
 Loghmore }
 James Butler of } Esqrs.

City of Cashell.

} Dennis Kearney
 } James Hackett } Alder.

Bur. Clonmell.

{ Nicholas White } Alder.
{ John Bray }

Bur. Fethard.

{ Sir John Everard, Baronet.
{ James Tobin of Fethard, Esq;
M 4 Bar.

Bur. Thurles.
Bur. Tipperary.

Com. Tyrone.

{ Col. Gordon O Neile
Lewis Doe of Dun- } Esqrs.
gannon

Fur. Dungannon.

{ Arthur O Neil of
Ballygawly } Esqrs.
Patr. Donelly of
Dungannon

Fur. Strabane.

{ Christopher Nugent of Dub-
lin, Esq;
Dan. O Donelly of the same,
Gent. 8th May 1689.

Clogher.
Augher.

Com. Waterford.

{ John Power } Esqrs.
Math. Hore

Fur. Gungarvan.

{ John Hore } Esqrs.
Martin Hore } 7th May
89.

City of Waterford.

{ John Porter } Esqrs.
Nicholas Fitzgerald

Bur. Lismore.
Tallow.

Com. Wexford.

{ Walter Butler of Munfinc.
Patrick Coleigh of Mounirry
William Talbot, Esq;
Francis Rooth, Merchant.

Bur. Wexford.

{ Luke Dormer } Esqrs.
Richard Butler

Bur. New Ross.

{ Francis Plowden, Esq; Com-
mis. of the Revenue.
Dr. Alexius Stafford

Bur. Pannow.

Bur.

Fur. Newborough. { *Abraham Strange of Tobber-*
duff, Esq;
Richard Daley of Kilcorky,
Gent.

Fur. Eniscorthy. { *James Devereux of*
Carrigmenan
Dudley Colclough of } *Esqrs.*
Mongbery
Arthur Waddington, Esq;
a new Election

Bur. Taghmon. { *George Hore of Pol-*
bore
Walter Hore of Har- } *Esqrs.*
pers. town

Bur. Cloghmyne. { *Edward Sherlock of Dublin,*
Esq;
Nicholas White of New Rosse,
Merchant.

Fur. Arklow. { *Coll. James Porter.*
Capt. Nicholas Stafford.

Com. Wicklow. { *Richard Butler*
William Talbot, } *Esqrs.*
Hugh Byrne, Esq;

Fur. Caryesfort. { *Peirce Archbold, Esq;* upon
whose default of Appea-
rance ----- Barth. Pola-
wheele.

Fur. Wicklow. { *Francis Toole*
Thomas Byrne } *Esqrs.*

Fur. Blesington. { *James Eustace, Esq;*
Maurice Eustace, Gent.

Baltinglass. { *James Eustace, Esq;*
Maurice Eustace, Gent.

Com.

	The Honourable Coll. <i>William Nugent</i>	
Com. Westmeath.	The Honourable Coll. <i>Henry Dillon</i> .	
	<i>Garret Dillon</i> , Esq; Prime Serjeant.	
Bur. and Manor of Mullingar.	<i>Edmond Nugent</i> of Garlans-town, Esq;	
	<i>Edmond Malone</i> of Ballyne-bown, Esq;	
Bur. Athlone.	<i>Edmond Malone</i> , Esq; Counsellor at Law	
	<i>Bryan Geoghegan</i> of Donore	
Bur. Kilbeggan.	<i>Charles Geoghegan</i> of Syenan	Esqrs.
	<i>John Nugent</i> of Donore	
Bur. Fore.	<i>Christoph. Nugent</i> of Dardis-town	Esqrs.
Com. Londonderry.		
City Londonderry.		
Bur. Colerane.		
Bur. Lamavudy.		

The very Names of these Men are sufficient Indications of their being of the *Irish* Stock, out of which was produc'd the Horrible Massacre and Rebellion, 1641. These Men did King *James* get together to establish Popery and Slavery in that Kingdom, and with the help of the *French* to do the same in *Great Britain* afterwards. That he was bent upon enslaving all his Subjects, as well *Papists* as *Protestants*, appears by several Arbitrary Acts of his while he was in *Ireland*. By the Pretence of his Prerogative Royal, he laid

laid a Tax of 20000*l.* a Month upon all Chattels, the Parliament having omitted that Tax on their 20000 *l.* a Month upon Land. This he did when his own Convention, his Tools and Creatures, were in Being, and wou'd doubtless have done any Thing he demanded of them; but he was fond of any Project which broke in upon the Parliamentary Constitution, and affected to have this Money rather by an Illegal Way, than one that had the Face of Legality. Some of his own Privy Council oppos'd this extraordinary Method of Levying Money when he might have it in the ordinary Way. They urg'd, *It would give Advantage to his Enemies, and be an Argument of his affecting an Arbitrary Power.* The King highly resented their opposing his Royal Will and Pleasure; telling them, *They had made him believe it was a Branch of his Prerogative to levy Money, and if he could not do it he could do nothing.* His Chancellor *Fitzon* was very eager to have this Project take Effect; and the Majority of the Council peceiving the King wou'd not be put off a Thing he had resolv'd upon, fell in with it; So a Proclamation was order'd for raising the Money. The Marquis of *Abbeville*, Secretary of State, thought it sufficient to send Letters sign'd by himself, in which he was only named, and instructed Commissioners to raise the 20000*l.* a Month on Chattels; but they judging this Authority insufficient, demurr'd on the Execution, till they had their Directions and Instructions from the King himself under the Great Seal. His Majesty was enrag'd at their Demur, and hardly prevail'd upon to grant them Commissions, requiring them to act on *Abbeville's* Warrant, and not dare to dispute the *Will*, even of his Minister. But
he

he was at last persuaded to issue out Commissions to the Persons his Secretary had nam'd, who were for the most part *Papists*. The few *Protestants* that were named, declin'd acting as much as they durst; and thus this Tax, as indeed all other Payments to the King, fell for the most part on the *Protestants*.

As soon as the *Irish* began to dispute his Orders, and stand on the Laws, he took it heinously from them, and they lost much of his Favour: He spoke hardly of them, and wish'd to be rid of them at any Rate. When his House of Commons cross'd a Proposal made by him, he fell into a violent Passion, crying out, *I find all Commons are the same*. And his Parliament having a Quarrel with the Earl of *Melfort*, one of his Secretaries of State, he complain'd that *they us'd him unkindly and basely*; adding, *I wou'd never have come among them, if I had thought they wou'd not have let me chuse my own Servants*. At another Time, when they wou'd not suffer him to dispense with their *Act of Attainder*, or pardon any Attainted in it with a *Non Obstante*, he is said to have fallen into so furious a Passion that his Nose fell a bleeding. Now it was commonly reported by the *Roman Catholicks* themselves, that King *James* boasted, and pleased himself mightily, that *He had made Himself Absolute, which none of his Predecessors cou'd do; that he had a more numerous Army than any of them, and consequently was a more glorious King*. This is the Prince, the *Hicks*, the *Dodwells*, the *Ken's*, and the rest of the *Staunch Church-Clergy*, wou'd have blest us with. This is the Man who bred up the *Chevalier de St. George*, and instill'd into him the same laudable Maxims of Government. What a wretched

ed Company of Teachers and Confessors, has this Ancient Doctrine had? And how wou'd those Priests, and their Disciples, *Welson, Milbourn, Sutton, Trap, Sachetverel, &c.* have betray'd, and ruin'd, the Ancient Liberties of these Kingdoms, together with our most Pure and Holy Religion?

By what has been said already in the preceding Pages, of King *Jame's* Tyranny and Cruelty, will sufficiently appear the great Blessing that attended these Nations, in the Deliverance wrought by King *William*. Nor does the good Providence of God shine forth less apparently, in the Deliverance wrought for us by the Accession of his present Majesty King *George* to the Throne of *Great Britain*: The Ministers, who for Four Years before had the Administration of Affairs, being such as King *Jame's* made use of to enslave a Freeborn People. And it is observable, that if any who call'd themselves *Church of England-Men*, such as *St. John, Wentworth, &c.* wou'd do any Thing, or venture any Thing, to destroy our Religion and Liberties, he caress'd them and gave them a Share of his Favour: But if they reserv'd the least Tender for Liberty, some small Kindness for the *English* Constitution, then the Name of *Church of England-Men* did their Business effectually, and lost them his good Graces. My Lord Archbishop of *Dublin* writes thus on this Subject; "Those *Protestants*, or pretended *Protestants*, that cordially and heartily espous'd this Design, and serv'd him to oppress and ruin their Fellow-Subjects, kept his Favour pretty well, and were employ'd by him, notwithstanding their being reputed *Protestants*; a certain Sign, that the Reason he discharged *Pro-*
" *testants*

" *repairs* from their Trusts and Offices, was
 " chiefly, because he thought they would not
 " serve him, as he expressed it, *without Reserve,*
 " or contribute heartily to enslave themselves
 " and their Posterity. He often declared, and
 " more especially in his *Act for Liberty of Con-*
 " *science,* that it was his constant Resolution,
 " that there should be no other Test, or Distin-
 " ction among his Subjects, but that of Loyal-
 " ty; by which all knew that he meant an Ab-
 " solute Submission in every Thing to his Will;
 " for he accounted every Body disloyal, that
 " disputed or demur'd at any of his Com-
 " mands.

If it be objected, that these Commands of
 of his were Just and Reasonable; and that he
 would have made use of his Absolute Power with
 Moderation and Equity; we will look out for
 some Instances of his Disposition in that Re-
 spect, to shew how unfit he was to be entrusted
 with any Power at all. The very next Day af-
 ter his Mock Convention met, he order'd a
 Declaration to be drawn up to be sent to En-
 gland, and dispers'd by his Friends there; in
 which he declar'd, that his Protestant Subjects,
 their Religion, Privileges, and Properties, were his
 especial Care since he came into Ireland. The Tories
 did accordingly give out, that the Protestants of
 Ireland were extremely well us'd by him; and
 represented such as fled, to be a sort of Rebels,
 or at least to deserve no more Compassion or
 Support than the French Refugees whom they hated
 as Schismatics. This Faction would have had it
 believ'd, that their Abdicated King was highly
 injur'd in the Reports that were made of his
 Cruelty, and Injustice to the Protestants. When

Sir Daniel Mac Donald came out of the Isles of Scotland to Dublin in 1689, and several Gentlemen of the Highlands with him; They declared, That their Ministers in the Pulpit had assur'd them, that the Protestants in Ireland, liv'd under King James in the greatest Freedom, Quiet, and Security, both as to their Properties and Religion; and that, if his Countrymen knew the Truth of the Matter, as they there found it, they would never Strike Stroke for him. These Scotch Tories were amaz'd to find Things quite the contrary; and the Church of England under the severest Persecution. Though they needed not be much surpriz'd at it, if they had known what sort of Church-of-England Men he had about him; Men of almost as bad Principles and Characters as Sacheverell, and our Modern High-Church Men; such as Dr. Cartwright; who, in one of his Sermons told his Congregation, That the King's Promises are Donatives, and ought not to be too strictly examin'd or urg'd; and that, we must leave his Majesty to explain his own Meaning on them. King James was so well pleas'd with this Doctrine, that he gave the Doctor a Bishoprick; as doubtless, our late Managers would have given Sacheverell; whose Promotion for the same Hellish Tenets, was one of the greatest Scandals and Crimes, even of their Criminal and Scandalous Administration.

King James, by his whole Conduct in Ireland, shew'd that he was a proper Scholar for such a Master, and would learn his Lessons as fast, as Cartwright could teach them.

So in Love was this Abdicated Prince with a Despotick Rule, that, as has been said, he could not bear to have it oppos'd by the Papists themselves. Another Instance of which, was seen in his

his Treatment of one Moore, a Romish Priest, who in a Sermon preach'd before him in Christ-Church in Dublin, In 1690, pretending to exclude the Clergy from the Effects of it, and to give them a Portion of Temporal Authority also, was banished the Court. His Words were; *Kings ought to consult Clergymen in their Temporal Affairs, the Clergy having a Temporal, as well as a Spiritual Right in the Kingdom; but Kings had nothing to do with the managing of Spiritual Affairs, but were to obey the Orders of the Church.* How does the Doctrine of this Popish Fryar agree with that of Binks, and those of the Convocations in Queen Anne's Reign, who endeavour'd to have the Church declar'd Independant of the State? But King James was not so weak neither, as to suffer such an usurping Priest to erect a Spiritual Empire where he was establishing that of his Will.

In examining further into his Behaviour, I shall observe chiefly how he manag'd Matters himself, that he may bear the whole Blame, and have no Excuse to throw his Tyrannical Administration on his Ministers. When he was advis'd out of Policy to be more gentle to the Protestants, that he might increase his Party in England; he reply'd; *I never expect England but with Fire and Sword.* At another Time, talking of settling his Religion in the Three Kingdoms, he said; *He would die a Martyr but he would accomplish it; and that he had rather die the next Days that Design being compassed, than live Fifty Years without effecting it.* But as he cou'd not do this while the Laws had any Force, his main Bent was against them; and to render them useless by the most flagrant Breach of them, a Verbal Command of his was a suffici-

a sufficient Dispensation to all Laws made in Favour of a Protestant. The Officers acted, and the Courts judg'd, as if there had been no such Laws in being. Dispensations there went much higher than in *England*, even to Dispensing with the Laws against Robbing, and taking away Property.

If King *James* had a mind to any Thing, he sent an Officer with a File of Musqueteers, and fetch'd it away, without considering the Owners. And to shew that his Commands were not merely pretended by these Officers, he sign'd Orders to take away many Things of great Value, without offering any Retribution, or Satisfaction to the Owners.

A little after he came to *Ireland*, he set up his Mint, to Coin Copper Money. King *Charles* the III^d had made a Grant to some Courtiers, as a Reward for considerable Services, of the sole Liberty to Coin all Copper Money, for a Term of Years. This Grant was purchas'd at a dear Rate, by Sir *John Moore*, Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*; and was renew'd to him by King *James* himself, after his Accession to the Throne. When he came to *Dublin*, he found this Grant in the Hands of Colonel *Roger Moore*, to whom Sir *John* had left it as a Legacy. King *James* sent for it, and had it strictly canvass'd, to see if any Flaw could be found in it: But the Canvassings of his Lawyers were all to no Purpose; and the Colonel could not be persuaded to give it up. Upon which the King commanded it to be laid aside, and his own Mint to be proceed-
ed on without any Regard to it.

This was not all : They must have Colonel *Moore's* Tools and Engines, or they could not go to work. Accordingly, King *James*, without consulting the Owner, or enquiring whether he was willing to part with them, sent and seiz'd on them violently, breaking open the Doors where they were kept, and taking away to a considerable Value. What use he made of these Engines and Tools when he had them, we shall see by and by.

It has been shewn, how he took upon him to raise Money (contrary to the Opinion of some of his Popish Counsellors) by Proclamation only. But the 20000 *l.* a Month on Lands, and the 20000 *l.* a Month on Chattels, not answering his Ends, he resolv'd to supply his Necessities by one of the most Arbitrary and Ruinous Acts of Government, that ever Christian King was guilty of ; which was, the Coining vast Quantities of Copper and Brass Money, and making it current by Proclamation, dated *June* 18, 1689, while his pretended Parliament was sitting. He would not consult, nor concern them in the Matter : It must be done all by virtue of his Prerogative Royal.

The Metal this Money was made of, was for the most part the worst kind of Brass : Old Guns, and the Refuse of Metal, were melted down, to make it. Workmen rated it at Three-pence, or a Groat a Pound ; which being coin'd into *Sixpences*, *Shillings*, or *Half-Crowns* ; One Pound Weight made about 5 *l.* A most exorbitant Imposition on the People ! Yet King *James* was not satisfy'd with this : He doubl'd it by a Second Proclamation ; and, in Imitation of his Brother of *France*, rais'd the Value of this Brass Mo-

Money. Thus the Half-Crowns being call'd in, and having a New Stamp, were made to pass for Crowns ; and a Groat's Worth of Metal fetch'd him 10 *l*.

There was coin'd of this Vile Money in all, 965375 *l*. Thus for about 1670 Pounds Worth of old Brass, he pick'd out of his Subjects Pockets near a Million of Money, in Payments and Effects.

With this Stuff he paid all his Appointments ; and all that receiv'd his Pay, being Papists, they forc'd the Protestants to part with the Goods out of their Shops and Warehouses for this Money ; and to receive their Debts in it, whether *Book-Debts*, *Bond-Debts*, or *Mortgages*.

Colonel *Roger Moore*, whom I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of, had a Mortgage of 3000 *l*. on the Estate of the Lord *Dillon*, who marry'd *Tyrconnel's* Daughter. The Lady *Tyrconnel* sent for him, and told him, That having some Money at her Command, and being desirous to take off the Burthen from her Daughter's Estate, she would pay him off, if he would make some handsome Abatement of the Sum due. Colonel *Moore*, in Consideration that he was to have ready Money, consented to abate 1000 *l*. The Lady *Tyrconnel* seem'd very thankful, and appointed him to come the next Day, to bring the Deeds and Obligations with him, and receive his Money. Accordingly he came ; and having sign'd a General Release, the Lady open'd a Door, and shew'd him a long Table cover'd over with Copper and Brass, tendering it for his Payment. But the Colonel rejected it with Indignation ; and had never receiv'd a

Farthing, had that Popish, Tyrannical Government lasted.

One of the most Eminent Silversmiths in *Dublin* sold a great Quantity of Plate to a Papist, and (by a particular Bargain) was to receive his Money in Gold or Silver; but the Papist came afterwards, and tender'd him Copper and Brass Money, which he was forc'd to take.

The Protestants had all the while only Gold and Silver, to purchase any thing they wanted of Papists. They had no Way to come at the Brass Money in the Kings Hands: By this means, the Loss by his Money fell in a manner entirely on the Protestants; and they were defrauded of about 60000 *l.* a Month, by this wicked Stratagem only.

The Papists who ow'd them Money on Judgments, Mortgages, and the like, pour'd in the Brass Money upon them: And they making some Scruple of taking about 20 *s.* for 1000 *l.*; which was pretty near the Difference between the Silver and the Brass Coin; King *James* issu'd out his Proclamation, dated *February* the 4th 1689, to make that Money current in all Payments whatsoever, whether *Judgments, Mortgages, &c.* Thus they rid themselves of it, and put it on the Protestants.

Fitton, the Chancellor, compell'd Trustees for Orphans and Widows, to receive their Mortgages in this kind, as well as others; tho' they pleaded that they knew not how to dispose of it; nor if they did know, could they legally receive it, or make use of it, being only Trustees. But the Chancellor over-rul'd, and forc'd the Brass Coin on them, not so much as allowing

ing it to remain in Court. The Governor of *Dublin*, the Provost-Marshall, and their Deputies, threaten'd to hang all that refus'd the Brass Coin. And that they would do what they said, tho' the Laws were against them, the Protestants had but too much Reason to fear from their common Practices.

If it shou'd be objected, that the Necessity of the War compell'd King *James* to put his Brass to the Mint, and make it supply the Place of Silver: Not to insist, by way of Answer, on that King's being under no Necessity of making War on his Subjects, because they would not consent to the Slavery he was bringing upon them; his Tyranny appears, in compelling one Part of his People, as he call'd them, to receive this Money, and excusing the other. For when the Protestants came at any of it, and would put it off again to the Papists, the latter would not touch it.

Mr. *Rose*, a Merchant in *Dublin*, had receiv'd 500 *l.* from some *Roman-Catholicks*, for which he drew a Bill of Exchange on his Correspondent in *England*. The Papists having no Account of the Payment of the Bill, (the Seas being shut up) su'd for the Money; tho' every body suppos'd the Bill was answer'd. While the Suit hung, the Brass Coin was made current; and then they would fain have dropp'd it. But Mr. *Rose* having great Quantities of this Money put on him, for Goods taken away from him, demanded a Trial; thinking if he was cast, as he was pretty sure to be, being a Protestant, he would pay the 500 *l.* in the Brass Coin. The Judge put off the Trial from time to time, up-

on various frivolous Pretences ; upon which Mr. *Rose* brought the Money, and deposited it in Court. This, the Judge said, was an Affront ; and demurr'd to the Receiving it.

The Protestants being loaden with such Heaps of Brass, and not knowing what to do with it, they laid it out on the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom ; such as *Hides, Tallow, Wooll, Corn, &c.* which they bought up at any Rate, supposing they might one time or other turn to Account ; whereas the Brass Money could never signify any thing. The Papists were aware of this, and advis'd King *James* to take these Goods out of their Hands again ; which was thus contriv'd.

The good King issu'd out his Proclamation, (for all his Business was done by *Proclamations*,) setting a certain Rate upon Commodities. After which, by another Proclamation, he declar'd he wanted certain Quantities of those Goods ; and that he would have them at the Rates in the Proclamation.

Pursuant to this, Sir *Terence Dermot*, the Lord Mayor, Sir *Patrick Trant*, *Francis Plowden*, Esq; *John Trinder*, Esq; *Richard Collins*, Esq; and Sir *William Ellis*, Commissioners of the Revenue ; and Sir *Thomas Hacket*, Deputy-Lieutenant of the City of *Dublin* ; severally search'd for, and seiz'd these Goods wherever they found them ; unless the Owners brib'd them, (as some did) and so sav'd what they had before paid dearly for. These Seizures in *Dublin*, and other Parts of *Ireland*, brought into King *James's* Warehouses,

1852018 *Pounds of Wooll.*

16849 *Hundred of Tallow.*

22337 *Raw Hides.*

And 2732 *Hundred and a half of Tann'd Hides.*

This is not an Exact Calculation, for much more was seiz'd than an Account was given of: But so much was return'd to the Accomptants of the Revenue; and that the Quantity was much more, may be imagin'd, by what was seiz'd in the City of *Dublin* for the King's Use, the 6th of *February* 1689, the Day of his Accession to the Crown.

SEIZURES in

St. Andrew's,
St. Peter's,
St. Catharine's,
St. James's,

} *within the City.*

Oxmantown,
St. Brides,
St. Nicholas,

} *without.*

Tann'd Hides.

920

1161

5071

11619

18771

Raw Hides.

2140

2190

3192

7192

14687

N 4

Stones

Stones of Wooll, at
 18 l. a Stone.
 61105

Tons of Tallow.
 389

Stones of Butter.

40

All which, and vast Quantities more, were shipp'd off for *France*; the Proprietors not being paid a Penny for them.

When some of the injur'd Owners press'd the Commissioners of the Revenue, to know the Reason why they were thus us'd; Sir *Patrick Trant* reply'd, *He would not give any Reason to such Rogues.* And when they humbly repeated their Request, to tell them at least what they had done to suffer such Damage; he told them, *It was because they were Protestants.*

This Sir *Patrick Trant* was one of King *James's* most busy Officers. He affected to be extremely well vers'd in the Affairs of the Revenue; and before that King ran away, it was talk'd of, that he would be sent for, to model the Custom-House in *England*. He had scrap'd together some Money, and purchas'd a considerable Estate in *Queen's-County*, (for which he was Knight of the Shire in King *James's* Mock Convention) and other Counties of *Ireland*.

After the Reduction of that Kingdom, Sir *Patrick Trant* fled to *France*, and dy'd there. His Son, Sir *John Trant*, by the Encouragement of some Tories near King *William*, came to *England*, to solicit for his Estate, which had been granted to the Earl of *Galway*; but he was baulk'd in his Expectations, and his Friends could do him no Service. Upon which he
 went

went to the Earl of *Galway*, and represented to him the Want he was reduc'd to, being kept out of his Estate by 'his Lordship. The Earl, whose Humanity gain'd him the Love of all that knew him, said in Answer, *That he ow'd the Estate he held to His Majesty's Bounty, in Consideration of his Service in that Kingdom. That himself had a much better Estate in France, which was taken from him : And as he doubted not Sir John's Interest in the French King ; he would very readily give him an Equivalent out of it, for his Estate in Ireland.*

But his most Christian Majesty had not such a Respect for the *Irish* Refugees, as to make any Resumption of his Grants in Favour of them. So Sir *Patrick Trant's* Estate was resum'd by the Act, which took away the *Irish* Forfeitures from the Grantees, and sold them to the *Sword-Blade* Company, with many other forfeited Estates. Sir *John Trant* was kill'd soon after, in a Scuffle in *Covent-Garden* : And his Brother, Sir *Charles*, was kept in hopes by the Faction, that he should have some Compensation for what his Father had so justly forfeited.

These Things happening within my Knowledge, I could not help making this Digression ; from which I return to the *Peculations* King *James* committed in *Ireland* and continue our Account of his Plundering his Subjects.

Mr. *Henry Piercy*, a Merchant of *Dublin*, the Son of Mr. *James Piercy* the Trunkmaker, who disputed the Succession to the Estate of the Earl of *Northumberland*, with his Grace the Duke of *Somerset*, and claim'd a Seat in the House of Lords as Heir to that Earldom ; having a Quantity of the Goods before-mention'd by him, Sir
Tho-

Thomas Hacket came to him, and demanded of him, if he was willing to part with them. He answer'd calmly, *He was not willing, if he could help it.* This was look'd upon as a Treasonable Answer; and *Lutterell*, the Irish Governor of *Dublin*, commanded him to be brought before him. *Lutterell* put the same Question to him; and upon his making the same Reply, he fell into a terrible Passion, curs'd and swore, and condemn'd him to be hang'd immediately, for *Opposing the King's Will.*

Mr. Piercy was an Eminent Wealthy Merchant; and this was the Law dealt to such by King *James's* Popish Ruffians, himself being present. Messengers were presently dispatch'd, to fetch the Provo, to execute the Governor's Sentence: Under which *Mr. Piercy* remain'd Two Hours, and no Provo's being to be found in that Time; some *Irishmen*, who had a little more Humanity than King *James's* Favourite, *Simon Lutterell*, prevail'd with him to dismiss *Mr. Piercy* for that Time.

Was not this a Glorious Prince, to triumph thus over the Lives and Fortunes of his innocent Subjects? What a Happiness would the *Tories* have restor'd to us, in Re-establishing him on his Abdicated Throne?

When Protestant Merchants had Ships consign'd to them, with such Goods as himself or his Courtiers had a Mind to; they were seiz'd, and given away to his Creatures. Thus a Ship of *Mr. Bell's*, (another Merchant of *Dublin*,) loaden with Wine and Brandy from *France*, was taken from him, with all the Cargo, and himself sent to Gaol for Opposing it. The Goods

Goods being given to Mr. *Labadie*, who ran away with King *James*, and other Papists.

The Goods they plunder'd the Protestants of, they shipp'd off to *France*. King *James* himself turn'd Merchant, and transported great Quantities of Leather, Wooll, Butter and Cheese, from *Ireland* to *France*. The above-mention'd *Labadie* shipp'd off to the Value of 15000 *l.* which the King gave him of those Commodities taken from the Protestants. And tho' it was Felony to send Wool to *France*, yet neither King *James*, nor any of his Ministers and Creatures minded it.

The Papists seiz'd 30000 Barrels of Wheat within Two Miles of *Dublin*, and 6000 Barrels in the County of *West-Meath*, besides other Sorts of Grain. The same was done throughout the Kingdom.

One Mr. *Baker*, Surveyor-General, was commanded to seize all the Malt in *Dublin*, for the King's Use; which Command he disobey'd, as not belonging to his Office, and being unwilling to plunder his Fellow-Protestants. He was therefore immediately turn'd out, and a Papist put in his Room.

All Sorts of Provisions were seiz'd, as Contraband Goods, and not enough left with the Protestants to supply their Families. It was criminal to have barrel'd Beef, or Bisket in a House. Alderman *Aleighb* of *Dublin*, was clapt up in Prison, for having a Hogshhead or two of the latter. The Granaries of the Farmers were every where plunder'd: And Sir *Robert Parker*, who came from *France* with King *James*, did not stick to tell in a Coffee-House, what was meant by it; That they design'd to starve one
Half

Half of the Hereticks, and hang the other ; and that it would never be well till they did it. Accordingly Twenty or Thirty Soldiers stood constantly about every Bake-house , to hinder any Protestants coming nigh them. If they sent into the Country, and by Interest and a great Price got a Barrel of Wheat from a Popish Farmer, it was seiz'd as it came to Town ; and tho' there was Plenty of all Things , yet several Protestant Families could not get one Loaf of Bread sometimes in a Week, sometimes in a Fortnight ; unless they bought it of the Soldiers , who sold a Twopenny Loaf for a Shilling , or Eighteen Pence.

Let it not be imagin'd that these Things are Fictions ; Calumnies, invented to blacken a Prince, whose Character is not capable of Abuse. Dr. King, Archbishop of *Dublin*, warrants the Truth of many of these Facts ; and others of them I had from a Merchant, who was on the Spot, a Person of Merit and Fortune.

I have already made abundant mention of King *James's* *Peculations* : The most notorious one is that of his Brass-Money, which was sold after he ran from *Ireland* too by the Hundred Weight, and sent over in Barrels to *England*, to be transported to our Colonies in *North America*. And while he was in *Ireland*, the same Money pass'd in Duke *Schomberg's* Camp, *Half a Crown* for a Penny, a *Shilling* for a *Half-penny*, and a *Sixpence* for a *Farth*ing ; which was still much above their intrinsick Value.

One of the Commissioners of his Mint, was *William Bromfield*, Gent. who was known by the Name of *Bromfield* the Quaker. He was employ'd

ploy'd afterwards in all the Plots carry'd on by the Papiſts and Jacobites, againſt King *William's* Government and Life ; and when the late Managers came into Play, notwithstanding this Fellow was ſuch a Notorious Traytor, he was admitted into the Secret of their Miniſtry, mightily careſs'd by them. This was the Man that King *James* truſted the Management of his Mint to, the other Commiſſioners being Men of no Knowledge in ſuch Matters, or any elſe that requir'd Conduct. As ſoon as *Bromfield* had his Commiſſion, he pillag'd firſt the *Braziers* Shops, and then the Citizens Kitchens, of their *Brass-Pots, Skillets, Boylers*, and their Houſes of other *Brass* Utensils, even to the *Knockers* of Doors, hardly one ſuch was left in the whole City. Thus did they come by their Money, and thus did they make uſe of it. We have ſeen how King *James* by his Proclamation fix'd the Rates of the moſt Staple Commodities of the Kingdom, in order to cheat the Proteſtants of them. His Example ſet his Under Officers to Work ; and *Edmund Reily*, Deputy Mayor of *Dublin*, iſſu'd out an Order for regulating the Prizes of Proviſions, Country Goods, and Manufactures in that City. Theſe Prizes were not half the Value. However, the Papiſts took hold of the Order, went to the Shops and Houſes of the Proteſtants, took away their Goods by Force, at *Reily's* Rates, and left Brass Money with them for it.

The Lady *Tyrconnel*, a great *Oeconomist*, practis'd this Cheat more than any Body ; and the Courtiers imitated her as far as they could, and as their Brass Coin held out. The Papiſts, on the contrary, without any regard to the Deputy Mayor's

Mayors Order, Sold their Goods at what Prices they pleas'd ; and *Reily* himself having a great Quantity of Salt by him, dispos'd of it at such excessive Rates, that Complaints were made against him: Infomuch, that for Form sake, he was try'd, and fin'd a 100 *l.* but he never paid it. The *King's-Bench* Court granting him a Writ of Error, and removing the Cause thither from the City Court, where he was Cast.

'Twould be endless, if we should go about to give a full Account of King *James's* Arbitrary Proceedings in *Ireland*. They are not to be match'd in all the History of the long Reign of *Lewis XIV.* He outdid the *French* King in Cruelty and Oppression. *Lewis* had some Pretence for Dragooning his *Hugonots* ; he had publish'd an Edict against them, and set them a time to change their Religion, or be gone. He did not send his Soldiers to rob and maltreat them, till he had given them Warning of it : Whereas King *James* had given his Royal Assent to a Bill for Liberty of Conscience, and his Royal Word that he wou'd maintain the Protestants in their Religion and Rights. How he did it, we have shewn, and shall shew further in the following Pages. And First, with Respect to their Religion ; whereby it will be seen, that the *French* never took more Cruel and Effectual Ways to ruin the *Reform'd* Religion, than his Dear Brother King *James* did. He began with the Steps taken by all Spiritual Tyrants ; *Julian* the Apostate took the Christian's Schools from them before he shut up their Temples. The same did the *French* King by the Protestants in *France*. The same did our late Ministers

sters Attempt in the Schism Bill, to hinder Protestant Dissenters from teaching their Children to Write and Read. The First Duke of Ormond founded and endow'd a School at *Kilkenny*; Dr. *Hinton*, a Learned and Pious Divine, was Master of it. Him did the Papists drive out of the Town, seiz'd the School House, and converted it to an Hospital for Soldiers. They then began to quarrel with the College at *Dublin*, as King *James* dealt with *Magdalen* College at *Oxford*; and because the Fellows would not admit one *Doyle*, an Infamous Convert, to a Fellowship, their Pension paid out of the Exchequer was taken from them. The King himself turn'd out the *Vice-Provost*, *Fellows*, and *Scholars*, seiz'd upon the Furniture, Books, and Publick Library, together with the Chapel Communion-Plate, and all Things belonging to the College, or to the Private Fellows or Scholars. Notwithstanding he assur'd them, when they waited upon him at his Arrival at *Dublin*, That he would preserve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather Augment, than Diminish the Privileges and Immunities granted to them by his Ancestors.

What a Man of his Word this was! There is not a Nation upon Earth, though ever so Ignorant and Barbarous, that wou'd have taken such a King, if they could have help'd it, after they had once got rid of him. A few Weeks after this Promise, King *James* turn'd the Chapel into a Magazine, and many of the Chambers into Prisons for Protestants. The Garrison destroy'd the Doors, Wainscots, Closets and Floors, and damnify'd it in the Building and Furniture of private Rooms, to at least the Value of 2000*l*.

He

He nominated Dr. *Moore*, a Popish Priest, for *Provost*, made one *Macarty*, *Library-Keeper*, and was filling the House as fast as he cou'd, with *Priests* and *Papists*. If he believ'd in God as much as the Pope, and that our God is a God of Truth, what Horrors must his Conscience carry with him to his Grave, for falsifying his Word so often as he did? He was not satisfy'd with outing the Fellows of their Freeholds, but a Guard was sent to seize their Persons; and the Bishop of *Meath*, their *Vice-Chancellor*, had much ado to prevent their being Imprison'd; which was done on this Condition only, that no Three of them should meet together, on Pain of Death.

Another Method he took to destroy the Church of *England* Religion, was by hindring the Succession of *Bishops*, and Inferior Clergymen. As fast as any Preferments fell in the Church, whether *Sees*, *Dignitaries*, or others, he had the Profits of them return'd into the *Exchequer*, and let the Cures be neglected. Thus did he seize the Archbishoprick of *Cashel*, the Bishopricks of *Clogher*, of *Elphin*, and of *Clonsfert*, with many Inferior *Living*s, and with their Revenues maintain'd Popish Bishops and Priests, directly against the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom, which he had Promis'd, and Sworn to preserve. Yet this Man is a Confessor, a Saint. Sure never was there such a one in the Christian *Annals* before. His Morals and his Politicks, his Adulteries before he was King, his Cruelty and Injustice afterwards, the whole Series of his Life was such, that no Church but that of *Rome*, would be willing to own such a Member. I have already taken
Notice

Notice of Two Acts pass'd in this King's Irish Parliament, to take away Tithes, and other Provisions for the Maintenance of Ministers in Town and Country. The Protestant Clergy, by one of these Acts, were made incapable of enjoying the Tithes of Roman-Catholicks, yet the Popish Clergy were made capable of enjoying the Protestant Tythes. If a Protestant had a Bishoprick, Dignity, or other Living, by that Act he must not demand any Tythes, or Ecclesiastical Dues from any Roman-Catholick; and as soon as his Preferment became void by his Death, Cession, or Absence, a Popish Bishop was put in his Place: And by their Act, there needed no more to oblige all Men to *repute, take and deem a Man to be a Roman-Catholick Bishop, or Dean of any Place, than the King's signifying him to be so, under his Privy-Signet, and Sign Manual*: A Power that the Protestants, how much soever they magnify'd the King's Authority, never trusted any King with, nor any other Mortal Man whatever. As soon as any one became thus entitled to a Bishoprick, &c. immediately all the Tythes, as well of Protestants, as of Papists, became due to him. When the before-mention'd Act, about taking away the Provision for Ministers in Cities, and Towns Corporate, was sent up to the House of Lords, the Clergy of *Dublin* Petition'd to be heard at the Bar of their House; which was granted, and their Council were admitted to speak to it. These Gentlemen shew'd the Unreasonableness and Injustice of it so evidently, and insisted so boldly on King *James's* Promise to the Protestant Clergy, at his first coming into *Ireland*, when he gave them the greatest Assurances of

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maintaining them in their Rights and Privileges; and further, bid them, if aggriev'd in any Thing, to make their Complaints immediately to him, and he engag'd to see them redrest, that the King seem'd to be satisfy'd, and the House of Lords with him; yet the Design to Ruin them was so fix'd, that without offering any Thing by way of Answer, to the Reasons that were urg'd against it, the *Act* pass'd. The Livings of Ireland paid either First-Fruits, or Quit-Rents to the Crown, or Port-Corn, a Payment to the Lord-Lieutenant; All which were exacted from the Protestant Clergy. Notwithstanding the greatest Part of their Tythes were taken from them, the remaining Part, where any remain'd, was Seiz'd in many Places by the Commissioners of the Revenue, and a *Custodiam* granted of it for the King's Use, for the Payment of the *Duties* which accru'd out of the whole, and not one Farthing allow'd for the *Incumbents* or *Curate*. Nay, the *Incumbents* were often thrown into *Goal*, till they paid those *Duties*; tho' at the same Time, they had seiz'd their Livings, and found they were not sufficient to answer what they exacted: And because the Clerk of the *First-Fruits*, Colonel Roger Moore, being a Protestant himself, would not be severe with the Clergy, and seize their *Livings* and Persons, to force them to pay what he knew they were not in a Capacity to do; they found a Pretence to apprehend his Person, and sent him with Three Files of Musqueteers Prisoner to the Castle of *Dublin*, where he and two Gentlemen more lay in a nasty Garret for some Months.

As

As there was great Pains taken to have it believ'd, that King *James* us'd the Protestants as well as they deserv'd from him in *Ireland*; so I doubt not, every thing that is here said of his Endeavours to destroy the *Reform'd Religion* there, will be treated by such as wish'd well to his Person, and have still the same Sentiments of his Cause, - as Investives, invented on purpose to blacken his *Bright Character*. But I must inform them, that all these Things are not the Tenth Part of what I might urge against him, with respect to his Attempts to extirpate Protestantism in that Kingdom, and the Profession of the Religion of the Church of *England*, in a more especial Manner. He pass'd an Act of Parliament, to exempt all that dissented from our Church from its Jurisdiction; which Act was at first so drawn, that no Protestant Bishop cou'd pretend to any Jurisdiction, even over his own Clergy; but that and several other Passages in the Commons Bill were so little pleasing to some of King *James's* best Friends, that he employ'd Sir *Edward Herbert* to amend the Act, for the House of Lords, which he did in the Form they pass'd it in; nothing of the Commons Bill being left in it, but the Word *Whereas*. Popish Bishops, who were by another Act invested in Bishopricks, as soon as they could procure King *James's* Certificate under his Privy-Signet, that they were Archbishops or Bishops, succeeded to the Jurisdiction which belong'd to Protestants; and the use they wou'd have made of their Ecclesiastical Power, wou'd in a little Time, by the Help of the *Secular Arm*, have rooted out the Remains of *Protestantism* in *Ireland*. There were, as has been observ'd, one

Archbishoprick, and Three Bishopricks Vacant in that Kingdom; they had attained Two Archbishops, and Seven Bishops: By which Means the Spiritual Jurisdiction of Three Quarters of the Kingdom, was already secur'd into the Hands of Papists, and the rest were quickly to follow.

They pointed all their Artillery at the Church. They indulg'd the most Obstinate and Perverse Sectaries; such as the *Quakers*, in Opposition to all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and paying their *Dues* to the *Clergy*. They made them Aldermen and Burgesses in their new Corporations, and carest'd them in an extraordinary manner, that they might be their Tools to help pull down the Discipline of the Church. They receiv'd with open Arms all Comers, let their Lives be ever so Loose and Scandalous; and 'tis observable, that as the Jacobite and Tory Faction in *England* is compos'd of the Lewd, Debauch'd, Ignorant Part of the People, of Rakes, Whores, Thieves, Sots, and the like, who are unanimously of what they call the *High-Church* Party; so in *Ireland*, if any one that had been bred a Protestant turn'd Papist, he or she first became so corrupt in their Morals, that it was a Shame to a Christian Church to Protect them: Many Whores and Ballies who had before renounc'd their Religion by their Practices, assum'd the Name of *Catholicks*, to skreen them from the Punishment their Wickedness had incur'd, and were kindly entertain'd by the Papists. And if there was here and there a *High-Flying* Priest, who retain'd the Name of *Protestant*; but was ready to do whatever the Papists desir'd of him, to enslave his Country, and ruin the Religion
he

he profess'd ; such as our *Sutton, Sacheverel, Welton*, or *Milbourn* before mention'd, may be ; the Papists took him into Protection, when he was prosecuted by his Diocesan for Lewdness and Immorality. The Popish Lawyers would plead for such a Priest *Gratis*, that by keeping him in his Office, they might bring a Reproach on our Religion. Thus one Mr. *Ross*, a Priest, of the Character of our Parson *Smith*, commonly call'd *Smut*, was prosecuted by his Bishop, for very Lewd and Notorious Crimes ; but the Judges interpos'd, and Serjeant *Dillon*, their Prime Serjeant, pleaded his Cause for nothing against the good Bishop of *Kilmore*, who prosecuted him. And if such a Wicked Clergyman turn'd Papist, and none but such did turn, he was sure to keep his Living by a Dispensation, and to be exempted from the Power of his Bishop.

There was one Act of King *James's* in *Ireland*, which discover'd his Inveteracy to the Church of *England*, more than all his Actions in *England* ; and that was, his assuming a Despotick Power over it, by Virtue of his Supremacy, after his pretended Parliament had taken away the Oath of Supremacy. The Roman-Catholics press'd him to renounce it expressly, it being inconsistent with the Papal Tyranny ; but mind his Answer, *I do not claim any Ecclesiastical Authority over my Roman-Catholick Subjects, nor pretend to be Supream in their Church, in my Dominions, but only over the Protestants.* Upon which his Grace of *Dublin* argues thus, " He foresaw, " that the Ecclesiastical Authority which is settled by the Laws, and vested in the Crown, " as he could abuse it, might be a Means to

“ destroy the Protestant Religion, and to
 “ hinder the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Dis-
 “ cipline; and therefore was resolv’d not to
 “ part with it; not considering, that such a ma-
 “ nifest and designed Abuse of a Trust, in di-
 “ rect Opposition to, and Destruction of the
 “ End for which it was granted to him, was
 “ a provoking Temptation to his People, on
 “ the first Opportunity that offer’d, to think of
 “ transferring it to some other Person that
 “ would administer it with more Faithfulness,
 “ according to the Design for which it was
 “ granted.

This surely is enough to make all the Friends
 to King *James*, or his pretended Son, to sink with
 Confusion. Dare they plead for his Cause, and
 assert *Resistance* to be a Damnable Sin, when so
 great a Prelate tells them, what an Enemy he
 was to our Church; and that his being so, was
 a sufficient Temptation to his People to trans-
 fer his Authority to King *William*. The Truth
 is, the Tories at the bottom do not matter either
 King *James*’s Cause or the Church. That’s plain,
 by the Conspiracies to restore a Papist to a Su-
 premacy over it, which he would Exercise only
 for its Destruction. ’Tis an inordinate Desire
 of Rule, a Fiery Spirit of Persecution, the
 hopes of improving their beggar’d Fortunes by
 Disorder; in a word, ’tis every Thing that is
 uncharitable and wicked, and they are exactly
 of the same Make with the Tories of Ireland. I
 have in the preceeding Pages taken Notice of
 the Papists taking away the Schools from the
 Protestants; and when *Phillis* had lately the Ad-
 ministration of Affairs in Ireland, the Tories
 were for doing the same by the Dissenters;
 and

and that our Tory Mobs now in *England*, were instructed to proceed in the very same Manner, to destroy the Protestant Religion here, as the *Irish* Tories did to root it out there; I shall give the Archbishop's own Account of that Matter. *The Rabble*, says his Grace, broke into the Churches and defaced them with Barbarous and Contumelious Circumstances, breaking the Windows, pulling up the Seats, and throwing down the Pulpit, Communion-Table, and Rails, and stealing what was portable out of them; and what were our Tories to have done next; had they not been stopp'd in their Career? Why, the same as the *Irish* Tories did, have shut up all the Meeting-House Doors, as the latter did the Churches, and that too not many Months after King *James* had pass'd the *Liberty of Conscience Act*, in which it was expressly provided, That the Protestants should have Liberty to meet in such Churches, Chapels, and other Places as they shall have for that Purpose. However, the Papists under various Pretences seiz'd the Churches of the Protestants; and when the latter complain'd of it to King *James*, he answer'd, *It was done in my Absence at the Camp, without my Knowledge or Consent: Nevertheless, I am so much oblig'd to my Roman-Catholick Clergy, that I must not dispossess them; they alledge a Title to the Churches they have taken Possession of, and if the Protestants think their Title is better, they must bring their Action, and endeavour to recover them by Law.* This Answer was what the Attorney-General, *Sir Richard Neagle* suggested to him; and the Reader will easily imagine what Justice wou'd have been done the Protestants in Courts, where Popish Arbitrary Judges presided. *The Pretence of the Churches being seiz'd, while his Majesty was Absent,*

sent, says the Archbishop of Dublin, was a meer Collusion, and there could not be a more false Suggestion, than that the Papists had any Right to the Churches, or a more unjust Thing, than to put the Protestants on recovering a Possession by a Suit of Law, which was gotten from them by so open Violence; but this was the Justice we look'd for, and constantly met with from him. Nine Churches in Ten through the Kingdom, were either demolish'd, defac'd, or seiz'd; and those few that remain'd in Possession of Protestants, were disturb'd when they were at their Devotion; Officers and Soldiers enter'd in Time of Divine Service, and made a Noise, sometimes threatening the Ministers, sometimes Swearing, sometimes affronting or assaulting Women, picking Occasions of Quarrels with Men, and committing all Kinds of Disorder. Colonel Luttrell, Governor of Dublin, issu'd out an Order, forbidding more than Five Protestants to meet together, on Pain of Death. He was ask'd, whether this was design'd to hinder their meeting at Churches? It was answer'd, that it was design'd to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other Places. In Execution of which Order, all the Churches were shut up in June 1690. and all Religious Assemblies throughout the Kingdom forbidden, upon Pain of Death. The Protestants were also assur'd, that if King James had return'd Victorious from the Boyne, they were never to have had any Churches or Places of Meeting in Ireland more.

As they us'd the Religion of the Protestants thus illegally and insolently; so did they also treat their Clergy, not sparing the Persons of Bishops. The Bishop of *Laughlin's* House was broken

broken open and plunder'd before he left the Kingdom. The Bishop of *Waterford's* House was rifled, and the Bishop, an old Man of above Fourscore Years of Age desperately wounded in his Bed. Several Inferior Clergy were beaten and abus'd, way-laid as they travelled the Highway, Shot at and wounded; some were so beaten, that they dy'd of it; some had their Houses set a-Fire, and at last they were generally thrown in Goal, with the Gentlemen of the Country, where many were kept 10 and 12 Months, without hopes of Deliverance; which indeed they had never met with, in all likelihood, had not the Great Deliverer of the oppress'd, King *William*, come to their Succour, and by his Victory at the *Boyne* put an End to their Sufferings. When the *Irish* or *French* Soldiers met with the Protestant Clergymen, they were sure to be insulted and abus'd; the latter especially rail'd at them, calling them *Diabes des Ministres Heretiques, un Protestant, un Diable*, with other opprobrious Expressions. There were several Eminent Divines who remain'd at *Dublin* to exercise their Functions, as,

The Reverend Dean *Glendy*.

The Reverend Dr. *Foy*.

The Reverend Dr. *King*.

The Reverend Mr. *Serjeant*.

The Reverend Mr. *Bunbury*.

The Reverend Mr. *Delany*.

The Reverend Mr. *Fitz-Simons*.

The Reverend Mr. *Read*.

The Reverend Mr. *King*.

The Reverend Mr. *Price*.

The

The Reverend Mr. *Tucker.*

The Reverend Mr. *Burridge.*

The Reverend Mr. *More.*

The Reverend Mr. *Buckhurst.*

The Reverend Mr. *Caroline.*

The Reverend Mr. *Knigh.*

The Reverend Mr. *Rosselle.*

The last a *French Protestant*, who had conform'd to the Church of *England*. Monsieur *D'Arvaux*, the *French Ambassador* demanded him; and notwithstanding he was taken into the Protection of the Church of *England*, that Merciful King, our Abdicated *James II.* deliver'd him up to the *French Minister*, to be punish'd with the Wheel, or the Galley, as his most Clement Master King *Levis* should think fit. Dr. *Foy*, and Mr. *More*, were assaulted by Soldiers, while performing their Office at a Burial in the Church-Yard. The same Dr. *Foy* was hindred from preaching several *Sundays*, by the Menaces of King *James's* Guards, who surrounded the Church with their Fuses, and Swore they would Shoot him if he went into the Pulpit. This Insult he met with, because he had taken Notice the *Sunday* before, that one *Hall*, in a Sermon preach'd before King *James* in *Christ-Church*, and Printed afterwards, had corrupted his Text, *Acts* 17. 30. by rendring it, instead of Repent, *Repent and do Penance.* Dr. *King* was assaulted in the Street, and a Musket with a lighted Match level'd at him. The Publick Service in his Church was disturb'd several Times, particularly on *Candlemas Day*, 1689, by Seven Officers, who Swore aloud they would Cut his Throat. Dean *Glendy* was knock'd down

down and wounded in the Street. Mr. *Delany* had several Passes made at him with a Naked Sword, and afterwards hurry'd away to Goal. Mr. *Knight* was abus'd in his Church-Yard, by a Fellow who had been Mayor of *Scarborough*, and having been toss'd in a Blanket for his Insolence and Oppression there, ran away after King *James* to *France*, and thence to *Ireland*. Mr. *Servant* was cudgel'd through the Streets, and had to Prison. Mr. *Price* had a Musquet twice snap'd at him, and with great Difficulty got to his House. Mr. *Burridge* was assaulted by Three or Four on the High-Way, and wounded in several Places. I mention these, tho' but a few of the Sufferings of the Protestant Clergy in *Ireland*, because what was done, was in the Eye of the Government at *Dublin*; where King *James*, who had so often, and so solemnly promis'd to protect the Church of *England* was in Person. If he had not flatter'd himself, that a strong Party of the Clergy of *England* would espouse his Interest, it had been impossible for those of *Ireland* to have subsisted; and Cudgeling, Goals, and Insults, would not have satisfy'd the Rage and Malice of the Papists. Nor did he shew the least Disposition to give a Check to their Insolence and Cruelty.

I have instanc'd on more Occasions than one, how ungratefully, as well as unjustly King *James* behav'd himself towards those Stupid Wretches, who had not as yet renounc'd the Reform'd Religion, and nevertheless, follow'd Him, depending on the Protection he had so frequently assur'd them of. I shall add one Passage more, which will further illustrate his History in this Particular. The Earl of *Salisbury*

Salisbury had two Brothers that follow'd King James out of France, who profess'd themselves Protestants, and Associated with such. The Bishops of Meath and Limerick, had an Eye on these Gentlemen, and endeavour'd to secure them against any Attempts which might be made to pervert them : But King James call'd the Young Men to him, and forbid them the Company of the Protestants ; nay, even of one Mr. Cham, a Gentleman who came over with Him. He above all enjoin'd them not to converse with the Bishops and Clergymen. For said he, *They are false to me, and will pervert you to Disloyalty and Treason.* This was King James's Character of the Fathers and Teachers of our Church : And what Miserable Creatures, how void of Sense must those be, that wou'd put our Holy Religion into the Hands of one of his Sentiments ? For his pretended Heirs must be the same, and that with a Thousand Aggravations, imbitter'd by Long-sufferings, and sharpen'd by the Highest Resentment.

Thus have we shown how King James treated the Protestant Church and Clergy of Ireland ; and how he endeavour'd to extirpate our Holy Religion in that Kingdom. I have been oblig'd to touch upon the Invasion he made on the Rights and Properties of the People, as I have discours'd of the Church and Clergy ; what remains to be said as to that Article, will therefore be the shorter.

Their Property was almost entirely ruin'd by the Act of Repeal, and the Brass Money. But still King James went on, oppressing them with the most grievous Taxes, and destroying their Trade. He seiz'd their Goods without paying for

for them; following the Advice of his *Irish* Counsellors, which was to beggar the Protestants; and then, as they term'd it, *He might have his Will of them.* The properest Term that cou'd be given to a Passion so Violent as his was for Dominion. For a Man to have his Will of a Woman, is to satisfy his Lewd Appetite; and for King *James* to have his Will of his Subjects, was to feed his Lust of Power. Some of his Officers represented to him, that it was more for his Advantage to have his Subjects Poor than Rich. For said they, *You see how willing the Irish are to List themselves Soldiers for Two-Pence a Day, who knew no better way of Living; but it were impossible to bring the rich Charles of England (so they usually call'd them) from their Farms and Shops on such Terms to serve the King.* They further alledg'd, that the Poverty of the Generality of *France*, is the Reason that they are so willing to be Soldiers, and makes them so easily maintain'd, when they are enroll'd. These Maxims were most grateful to a Prince, who had resolv'd to subvert the Free Constitution of the Country in which he was Born, and reduce it to the Slavery that had made *France* a Nation of Beggars, the Court and Camp excepted; and truly King *James's* Court and Camp wou'd also have been excepted, had it been in his Power to have enrich'd them; for he settled on *Tyrconnel* 20000 *l.* a Year, and got it secur'd by Act of Parliament, out of the Forfeited Estates of the Protestants. In order to impoverish them, his Mercenaries were encourag'd to insult the Richest Merchants, and pilfer them at Pleasure. This and the putting all the Corporations where they liv'd into the
Hands

Hands of their Inveterate Enemies the Papists, drove most of the Rich Traders out of the Kingdom. The rest must'r'd their Stocks, call'd in their Debts, and resolv'd to give over Trading. The Effect of which Resolution was ruinous to all such as were indebted to them; it being impossible to raise Money to answer their Debts, when call'd on so suddenly, tho' they had Stock enough, if time had been allow'd them. By which Means Protestants were forced to ruin one another, as well as some Papists that depended on them. The Protestant Shopkeepers, who had some Stock left, and kept their Shops open, were forc'd to Trust King James's Indigent Courtiers and Officers; and he had few but *Beggars* about him, or they did not live in Safety in their Houses. If they refus'd to trust them, to be call'd *Dog, Whig, Rebel, and Traitor*, was the best of the Usage they met with from them. They wou'd Damn 'em, and Swear they would be reveng'd, which they generally perform'd, and kept their Word in that, if they broke it in every Thing else. Those of them that had ready Money, tho' they had formerly been Customers to Protestants, and in their Books, never came near them. The *Welsh Tories*, upon the coming in of the late Ministers, imitated the Example of these *Irish* Papists; and in *North-Wales*, enter'd into an Association to have no dealing with any *Protestants*, whom they distinguish'd by the Name of *Whig*. The Practice beforemention'd was so universal among the *Irish*, that the Court Ladies learn'd it, particularly the Lady *Tyrconnel's* Daughter. Thus did the Lady *Ross* and her Sister *Dillon* treat several *Shopkeepers*, falling fu-

riously upon them in the former Terms, because their Servants refus'd to trust. By the like rudeness the *Exchange* was entirely ruin'd; neither Buyers nor Sellers being able to keep in it; so insolent were the new Popish Officers who walk'd there, affronting and assaulting every Body, or extorting their Goods from them for nothing. Thus was the Principal Streets of *Dublin*, and the Chief Cities of *Ireland* depopulated; and wherever there were any *Roman-Catholicks*, who were industrious and thrive by Trade, they felt also King *James's* Hatred to it. As the Citizens of *Galloway* found by woful Experience; when all their Instances cou'd not prevail with King *James* to except the Estates they and his *Roman-Catholicks* had purchas'd under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, out of the Act of Repeal.

How the Courts of Judicature were manag'd, has been related already, and there were hardly to be seen there the very shadow of Law, every thing being determin'd at Pleasure, by *Fiton* in the *Chancery*, *Nugent* in the *King's-Bench*, and *Rice* in the *Exchequer*. There wou'd be no end of it, if I should go about to give a Particular Account of the Encroachments made by King *James*, his Judges, Magistrates, and Officers, on the Liberties of his People, as he call'd them. 'Tis sufficient to observe, that after many Violations of that Kind, in the several Counties of the Kingdom, it came at last to a general Seizure, without Reason or pretence of Reason; without so much as a Warrant, or Form of Law; and almost all the Protestant Gentlemen were thrown into Goals, under the Custody of Mean and Barbarous Guards, whose
Captains

Captains had been *Footmen*, or *Cowberds* ; and who exercis'd what Understanding they had, to invent new Methods of Vexing their Prisoners. This General Confinement continu'd from *Midsummer*, 1689, till *Winter* ; and some were kept in filthy Prisons, till King *William's* Glorious Victory at the *Boyne* set them at Liberty. No *Habeas Corpus* was allow'd, tho' earnestly solicited for : And there is but one Instance of an *Habeas Corpus* granted to an imprison'd Protestant, from King *James's* Landing in *Ireland*, to his Running to *France* again ; which being an extraordinary Case, is worth repeating.

An Officer of the Guards pick'd a Quarrel with the Reverend Mr. *Thomas King*, a Clergyman, because he refus'd to admit one *Ambrose* (the Popish Quarter-Master of *Dublin*) for a Godfather to a Protestant Child, whom he Christen'd. This Officer, to be reveng'd of him, intruded into his Company while at Meat, (as was common with them) and would needs oblige him to drink *Confusion and Damnation to the Prince of Orange* : Which he modestly declining ; and alledging that it was unfit for a Christian, much more for a Clergyman, to drink *Damnation* to any. Upon which, the Officer hurry'd him away to *Newgate*, by his Military Authority only. And after he had lain there till the Term was come, a *Habeas Corpus* was allow'd him. On the Return made by the Gaoler, the Court was so vex'd at it, that they fin'd him for making it ; and Mr. *King* was still kept in Prison, notwithstanding his *Habeas Corpus*, till after some Time they let him out upon *Bail* of 5000 *l.* under which *Bail* he remain'd till

till the General Deliverance. After his, no more *Habeas Corpus's* were allow'd.

During their Confinement, the Prisoners were kept very strictly: Their Servants, Children and Wives, were often debarr'd from seeing them; or when admitted, not suffer'd to speak to them, but in Presence of the Soldiers. In Dublin, when they had fill'd the *Gaols*, the *Hospitals*, the *College*, and other Places of Confinement, they at last imprison'd the Citizens in the Churches. They were crowded into stinking, nasty, unhealthy Rooms; sometimes Twenty, sometimes Forty in a Room. At the *College*, and at a House call'd *White-Fryars*, where there were many Prisoners, they put Barrels of Powder under them, threatening to blow them up if they should be press'd, and not able to keep the Places. Upon Complaint of this, Colonel Lutterell deny'd that it was done by his Order. But when he was inform'd of it by Sir John Davis, who had himself been one of those Prisoners, and a Witness of it; he said, *It was discreetly done of the Officer.*

If any of the Gentlemen, Clergymen, or Citizens ask'd, by what Authority they were committed? Those who apprehended them, and hurry'd them to Prison, made no other Answer than that they committed them; let them get out as they could.

It may be thought, that King James did not know how the Papists dealt by his Protestant Subjects; and that he is not answerable for it; But as his Grace the Worthy Primate before-mention'd writes, *If he did not contrive and order these Things, it is certain he consented to them; neither did e seem to have the least Resentment or Pity*

for their Sufferings ; as appear'd from his Carriage to the Bishop of *Lymerick*.

His Lordship, by His Majesty's Command, on a particular Service, waited often on him. He took one of those Opportunities (which seem'd most favourable) to lay before His Majesty, the many Hardships that were put on the Clergy, and the Protestants in general. He represented to him, how they were first robb'd of all, and then laid in Gaol ; and that they of his Diocese in particular had no way offended His Majesty, or disturb'd his Government. He therefore begg'd His Majesty's Favour in their Behalf.

The King heard him, but made him no Answer ; instead of which, he fell into Discourse of another Affair with a Papist that chanc'd to be by, and that with an Air more than ordinarily pleasant and unconcern'd.

His Grace speaking afterwards of the extreme Peril which Gentlemen and others ran, to escape his Cruelty, venturing to cross the Stormy Irish Seas in small Wherries and Fishing-Boats, rather than live under his Government ; says, 'Twas a Government where they could call nothing their own ; where it was in the Power of any that pleased, to deprive them of their Liberty : Where they durst not travel Three Miles, for fear of incurring the severest Penalties : Where they could not send a Letter to a Friend, tho' in the next Town, and about the most necessary Occasions ; and where, tho' never so cautious and innocent, they were sure at last to be sent to Gaol. Yet this very Government would *Hickes*, *Lesley*, and their Brethren, have brought upon us in *K. James's* Life-time ; and a worse would *Sacheverell*, *Welton*, and their Brethren

thren bring upon us now. I cannot name these factious and wicked Clergymen too often, that all honest Men may distinguish them, from the Great Body of Pious, Learned, and Prudent Divines of our Church, who are as good *Britons* as they are good Christians, and stood in the Breach when Popery was invading us, before the *Revolution*, which they have vigorously defended ever since.

One might now enter into a large and bloody Field, that of the Cruelties and Waste of the *Irish* in the Prosecution of the War; but I shall content my self with a few Examples, which King *James* has left to his succeeding Pretenders, how they are to treat the *Hereticks*, that have the Misfortune to fall into their Hands.

I said in the foregoing Pages, that I would not enter into the Detail of the Military Actions in the *Irish* Wars, farther than they serve to shew the King's Inclination to destroy both the Religion and Persons of the Protestants, to take away not only their Rights and Liberties, but their Lives; and that in the most barbarous inhuman manner, in Breach of Promises and Treaties. Nor will his Friends, or the Friends to his pretended Son, be able to clear him of the Blood we shall lay at his Door; since in many Instances it will be found, that his own Orders warranted his Officers to commit their bloody Executions; and where they had not his own Orders immediately, he countenanc'd them in doing what they did, and approv'd of it when done.

We have already given some Account of the Murders and Robberies committed by the *Irish* Papists, before King *James* came thither from

France : And how he lik'd those Acts of Rapine and Blood, will appear by his Usage of ———

Brown, Esq; a Gentleman of 500 *l.* a Year in the County of *Cork*. This Gentleman being threaten'd to be plunder'd by the Rapparees, consulted with some of his Friends ; and they advis'd him to defend himself, as they resolv'd to do themselves, if they were attack'd.

Mr. *Brown* accordingly got some of his Neighbours about him, to guard his House and Goods against these Robbers ; tho' thinking afterwards it might give Offence, he dismiss'd them ; and would not accompany Sir *Thomas Southwell*, when he went towards the North, but stood expos'd to the Attempts of the *Irish*. This Action of his was constru'd, to be a Levying War ; and he was apprehended, and brought before Judge *Daly* for it, at *Limerick*. The Judge, upon Examination of the Matter, discharg'd him, finding he had done nothing that was criminal, or that would bear an Indictment.

But, as has been observ'd, this Judge was too honest for the Papists, tho' of their own Religion ; and they not being satisfy'd with his Integrity, took up Mr. *Brown* again for the same Fact, and brought him before Judge *Nugent* at *Cork*, at the Time when King *James* came first thither. *Nugent*, as corrupt and cruel as he was, seem'd to be of the same Opinion with Judge *Daly*, till the King had discours'd him : After which he proceeded vigorously against Mr. *Brown*, pack'd a Jury to murder him, and those *Irish* Papists immediately found him guilty of High-Treason.

No body thought that King *James* would be so weak, as to let his first Act of Government in *Ireland* be an Act of Blood. This Proceeding of his, was look'd upon as an Occasion fought, for the King to shew his Clemency. Mrs. *Brown*, the convicted Gentleman's Wife, with Five or Six Children, presented him with a Petition, begging her Husband's Life at his Feet, as the first Act of Grace on his coming into the Kingdom. But oh, inexorable Prince! He rejected her Petition: And notwithstanding she reinforc'd it with all the Friends and Interest she could make, Mr. *Brown* was drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd.

As sure as there is a God in Heaven, so surely will that Righteous Blood cry for Vengeance. Not the Intercession of a Myriad of Popish Saints, nor the Merit of the whole *Romish* Church, can plead for, or procure a Pardon for so notorious a Murder. Nothing but the Blood of the Son of God, purchas'd by sincere Contrition, could take off the Stain. And how contrite King *James* was, how he repented of this Black Crime, let the History of his future Actions declare. If there is Salvation in the Church of *Rome* for such a Sinner; if the *Virgin*, St. *Ignatius*, St. *Francis*, and the rest of the *Legend*, can procure Pardon for Sins like this; what need is there of Virtue, Innocence and Piety? What need of a Redeemer, to save the Souls of Men? For my part, my Blood almost freezes with Horror at the Remembrance of such Barbarity; And those who would have re-establish'd such a Prince on the Throne, or one bred up in the same Principles and Practices by himself, and his Patron the

French King, must incline to the same Practices and Principles themselves, and ought to be abhorr'd by every good *Briton*.

We shall in the next place relate the Carriage of this King's *Irish* Generals, and Under-Officers, to Bodies and Communities of Men. The Town of *Bandon*, near *Cork*, being frighten'd and surpriz'd at the sudden Disarming of the Protestants, shut up their Gates, and turn'd out some Dragoons who came to disarm them, by Advice of a brave Clergyman, Mr. *Lord*. For the Protestant Clergy of *Ireland* were generally Men of Honour, and scorn'd to sacrifice their Country to their Ambition. They would have detested the Slavish Doctrines of our High-flying Priesthood.

General *Maccarty* hearing the Dragoons were turn'd out of *Bandon*, went to reduce that Town. The Inhabitants taking him to be a Man of more Honour than the rest of his Popish Countrymen, yielded to him upon Articles; for which they paid him a Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. By those Articles, they were to be indemnify'd for what was past. Notwithstanding which, the Grand Jury at *Cork*, by Direction of Judge *Nugent*, found *Bills* against them; *Nugent* resolving to serve them, as he had serv'd Mr. *Brown*: In which, says his Grace of *Dublin*, it is suppos'd, he was encourag'd by King James himself.

The Time allow'd him for the Assizes, would not permit him to try them then: And for this Reason, and on the Importunity and Menaces of General *Maccarty*, who being on the Place, thought himself oblig'd to make good his Articles, he put off their Trial to the next Assizes.

sizes. Still the Grand Jury's Bills lay over their Heads: No Pardon was granted 'em; and some of 'em were condemn'd in the *Act of Attainder*. Mr. Lord, with some Ladies and Gentlemen, made their Escape in an open Boat; a Party of Horse pursuing them to the Sea-side, and firing at them as they made off; as he told me himself upon his Arrival in *England*, where I met with him at *Bath*, and was fully inform'd by him of these and other Particulars.

There was seldom any Act of Cruelty committed by the *Irish*, but it was also an Act of Treachery. When *Hamilton* commanded the Army that besieg'd *Derry*, he gave out his Protections to such as would bring in Provisions to his Camp. The Protestants of the lower Part of the County of *Down* very readily supply'd him, and such Garisons as he thought fit, particularly *Carrickfergus* and *Charleroy*, with Oatmeal, and other Grain; tho' some of 'em wanted it, to support their Families. *Hamilton*, in return, distributed his Protections among them. Notwithstanding which, Lieutenant-Colonel *Brian Magennis*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Francis Wabup*, with the Lord *Eveagh's* Regiment of Mountaineers, came down upon them, and plunder'd all the Country, without any Regard to their General's Protections, or any Punishment for the Neglect of them.

This Usage so provok'd Captain *Henry Hunter*, who was in the County of *Down* when these Outrages were committed, that he got together a Body of near 3000 Horse and Foot, with an Intention only to defend themselves against such Robbers. He garison'd Sir *Robert Maxwell's* House at *Killeleagh*, and mounted an old

Gun, which had lain some Years at *Down-Patrick*, on the Walls. King *James* was inform'd of *Magennis's* Plundering the Protestants of that County, being in Security under his General Protection. However, to chastise Capt. *Hunter* for acting according to the First Principle of Nature, in Defence of himself, his Life and Property; he gave immediate Orders for the whole Royal Regiment of Horse, Commanded by Colonel *Dominick Sheldon*, Lieutenant to *Tyreconnel*; the Lord *Galmoy's* Regiment of Horse, a Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by the Lord *Bellaw*, a Name in great Vogue with *Phippis*, and the late Managers, and Sir *Maurice Eustace's* Regiment of Foot, to march directly into the Country, and fall upon Captain *Hunter* and the Protestants that were with him. To these Forces were join'd the Troops quarter'd about *Belfast*, *Lisnegarvey*, *Antrim*, and *Carrickfergus*, under the Command of Major-General *Bouchan*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Mark Talbot*, making in all about 5000 Horse and Foot. Captain *Hunter* having no Intelligence of their Motions, was surpriz'd by them near *Comlin*, and the *Irish* put all they could come at to the Sword. Captain *Hunter* made his Escape in a small Boat to the Isle of *Man*, but his Men were miserably slaughter'd by the Soldiers King *James* sent against them, tho' they committed no Acts of Hostility, and only stood by one another for their Preservation against the Lord *Eveagh's* Robbers, who after this Rebellion, as they term'd it, turn'd the Poor Protestants out of their Houses, and *Bellaw's* Dragoons drove them into the Sea. It happen'd, that one *Agnew*, a Master of a Ship was then riding at Anchor
at

at *Donaghadee*, he had Four Guns aboard, and observing how the *Irish* drove those Wretches into the Sea, he fir'd Two of his Guns upon them, which so frighted them, that they left off pursuing them, and *Agnew* took 70 Aboard his Ship, whom he landed safe in *Scotland*.

But nothing will give us a more lively and terrible Idea of King *James's* Barbarity to his Protestant Subjects, and his Disposition to govern Himself by the Maxims of *France*, than his giving the Command of the Army before *Derry*, which had been Commanded by the Traytor *Hamilton*, to Monsieur *Rosen*, a Frenchman, who had in his own Country been employ'd to Dragoon the Protestants of *Languedoc*. This Officer immediately put in Practice the Military Execution of the French Papists against the *Hugonots*; and issu'd out an Order for all the Protestants from *Inishone*, and the Sea-Coasts to *Charlemont*, Men, Women, and Children, to be driven before the Walls of *London-Derry*, that the Garrison might be distress'd by the taking of them in, or their Friends be destroy'd by the Canon of the Besieg'd. The Words of this French Butcher's Orders are these; *That from the Barony of Inishone, and the Sea-Coasts round about, as far as Charlemont, the Faction be gather'd together, whether PROTECTED or not, and immediately brought to the Walls of London-Derry, where it shall be lawful for those that are in the Town (in case they have any Pity for them) to open the Gates and receive them into the Town, otharwise they shall be forced to see their Friends and near Relations all STARVED for want of Food; he having resolved not to leave one of them at Home, nor any Thing to maintain them; and that all Hope of Succour may be*
taken

taken away by the Landing of any Troops in these Parts from England, he further DECLARES, That in Case they refuse to submit, he will forthwith cause all the said Country to be destroy'd, that if Succours should hereafter be sent from England, they may Perish with them for want of Food. Pursuant to this Order, the Dragoons and Soldiers first stripp'd 'em, and then drove the whole Country for Thirty Miles about before them, not sparing Nurses with their Sucking Children, Women big with Child, nor old Decrepid Creatures; some Women in Labour, some that were just brought to Bed, were driven among the Rest. The very Popish Officers who executed these Orders, confess'd that it was the most dismal Sight they ever had seen, and that the Cries of the Poor People seem'd to be still in their Ears. They gather'd 6 or 7000, and kept many of them for a Week together, without Meat or Drink. Several Hundreds died in the Place before they were dismiss'd, and many more on the Way as they went Home again to their Houses; nor were they better when they came there, for the Straggling Soldiers, Raparees, and Pilferers that follow'd the Army, had left them neither Meat, Drink, Household-Stuff, nor Cattle; but had taken away all in their Absence, by which Means the generality of them perish'd afterwards for Want, and many were knock'd on the Head by the Soldiers. The Officers who had the Charge of seeing these Orders Executed, were the Duke of *Berwick*, Colonel *Sutherland*, and Colonel *Sarsfield*, for which notable Exploit they ought to be remembred with Infamy.

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The Besieg'd, instead of being influenc'd by this unparallel'd Act of Cruelty, were the more exasperated against their Enemies, and the more resolute in their Defence against them: They set up Gallows, and threaten'd to hang all the Prisoners they had in their Hands, if their Friends were not immediately dismiss'd. The Besiegers finding their Foolish and Barbarous Stratagem did not succeed, at last sent them Home, after they had kept them there Three Days without Meat. It must be noted, that all these Miserable Creatures had King *James's* Protection, and liv'd very peaceably. The News of this Order came to *Dublin*, before 'twas executed, and the Bishop of *Meath* went immediately to King *James*, to see if he cou'd prevail with him to prevent such a Cruel Proceeding: His Majesty very calmly told the Bishop, *That he had heard of it before, and that he had sent Orders to stop it. That General Rosen was a Foreigner, and used to such Proceedings as were strange to us, though common in other Places; and that if he had been his own Subject, he would have call'd him to Account for it.* Yet he continu'd him in his Command. And this was the General who burnt the Country about *Derry*, when he rais'd the Siege, and who after the *French* Fashion left the Gentlemens Houses and Villages that lay in his Way towards *Dublin* in Ashes.

Left any one should object that these Counsels were entirely *French*, and against King *James's* natural Disposition, or his Good-Will to the Protestants; it must be observ'd, that the Abdicated King sometimes went beyond what the *French* wou'd have had him do, towards hastening their Destruction. My Lord
 Primate

Primate of Dublin tells us, on this Head, *The*
very Ambassador D'Avaux, if he might be believ'd,
was dissatisfy'd with King James's Measures, and
condemned them; alledging, that he had entirely given
himself up to the Conduct of the begotted Irish Clergy,
and of Tyrconnel, who in earnest was the only
Minister he trusted, and would effectually ruin him
and the Kingdom. Whatever the Ambassador thought,
it is certain, he has discours'd in this Manner, and
the Event has answer'd the Prediction. If after all
that has been said, any Briton shou'd have the
least Remains of Tenderness for such a Prince,
or Inclination to come under his Power; let
him consider seriously what that excellent Pre-
late says further of him, His Behaviour was such,
that it left no room for the Protestants to hope for any
Safety under his Government; of which such Prote-
stants as had followed him from England, were
generally so sensible, that many of them repented too
late, their having stuck to his Interest, and heartily
wish'd themselves at home again; openly professing,
that they could not have believ'd that he was such a
Man, or his Designs such as they found him; nay,
several of the English Papists that came from France
with him, abhor'd his Proceedings, and us'd to alledge,
that he not only hated the English Protestants, but
the Englishmen. Notwithstanding all this, are
our Tories so mad as to flatter themselves his
pretended Heir wou'd doat on both the English-
men and the Protestants; that he wou'd make much
of them and their High-Church, and not use
them, as King James us'd those Protestants and
Englishmen that stuck close to him in his Mis-
fortunes, and follow'd him from one Country to
another; whereas our High-Church drove him
out of England, and were never for taking him
again,

again, till they found it did not consist with *Revelation Principles* to persecute and plunder their Neighbours, for not saying their Prayers in the same Form and the same Posture that they did.

After the Battle of the *Boyne*, the Popish Garison of *Drogheda* took the Protestants out of Prison, into which they had thrown them, and carry'd them to the Mount, where they expected the Canon would play, if King *William's* Forces besieged the Town. They ty'd them together, and set them to receive the Shot, but their Hearts fail'd them who were to defend the Place, and so it pleas'd God to preserve the Poor Protestants; they being deliver'd, together with the Town, upon Summons and Articles, to his Majesty King *William*, our first Glorious Deliverer, since the Restoration. The Protestant Inhabitants of *Cork*, and other Towns in the Province of *Munster* far'd yet worse; they were carry'd from their Homes to some remote Castles, and there kept without Conveniences till most of them perish'd. Nor was this done at a distance from *Dublin* only: The King had enough such Spectacles almost in his own Presence, to have touch'd him with Pity, had he been capable of Pity towards a Protestant. Not long after he came to *Ireland*, *Charles Murry*, of *Westmeath*, Esq; Brother-in-Law to the Earl of *Granard*, waited on him, and was receiv'd by him with some Marks of his Favour. The King gave him his Protection, yet as he rode home, he was way-laid and shot dead; but no enquiry was made after the Murderers. One Mr. *Robert Burroughs*, a Rich Attorney of the County of *Dublin*, after having been plunder'd of all his Substance, was turn'd out of Doors,

Doors, and died in the Field of Hunger and Cold. Before King *James* march'd towards *Derry*, his Soldiers plunder'd all the Neighbourhood of *Dublin* at Noon-Day, and two of them shot a Gentleman at his own Door in that City out of a Frolick, yet were never call'd to account for it. They set a Standard on the Top of the Castle, with this Inscription, **NOW OR NEVER; NOW AND FOR EVER.** The King encouraging them in all these Outrages by his scandalous Lenity to the Offenders. Some of them who were apprehended for Robbery, and carry'd to *Kilmainham* to be try'd at the Affizes there for the County of *Dublin*, were deliver'd by Colonel *Luttrell*, Governor of that City, who came into Court, and threaten'd the Jury, that it *should be worse for them, if they found his Men Guilty*; adding, *The King's Soldiers must not be discourag'd, but must be allow'd, when in Want, to take from those that had*; meaning the Protestants; and by his Authority he sav'd them, being not only an Officer of the Army, but Lord Lieutenant of the County, and one of the Justices of the Sessions. What a blessed Monarch was our Abdicated King, to suffer his Officers to take Soldiers out of the Hands of Justice in his very Face? Well might the Protestants be glad to get rid of such a Sovereign, against whose Passions they durst not complain. The Marquis d' *Abbeville* owning at the Council-Board, *That they durst not do it, except they had a mind to be massacred.* They plunder'd the Lord Archbishop of *Armagh's* House, at *Blossington*; they destroy'd to the Value of 1000 *l.* in Furniture, and kill'd all the Deer in his Park, tho' the Flesh was at that Time

Time of no Use. The same they did by the Deer in *Rathfarnum-Park*, and in the Park by *Chapel-Izard*; they turn'd the Noble Building of *Eyres-Court*, in the County of *Galway*, into a Dwelling for *Swineherds* and *Cowboys*. The Lord Viscount *Mazarine*, in Plate, Money, Household-Goods, Horses, &c. was plunder'd to the Value of 20000 *l.* Sterling, and forc'd at last to fly to *Scotland* to save his Life from the *Irish Cutthroats*. The same did the Lord *Kingston*, and the Lord *Blaney*. The latter, tho' he left a very considerable Estate behind him in the County of *Antrim*, and other Parts of the *North*, cou'd not bring off 20 *l.* with him; so little time had he for a Retreat, or so little rather had he and his Tenants left them by the *Irish Army* and *Rapparees*. Some of the Protestant Gentlemen of the *North* kill'd their Horses, to prevent their falling into the Enemies Hands. Sir *Arthur Roydon* had a very fine one, which he intended to present to King *William*; but the Captain of the *Swallow Frigate*, which was to take him and other Persons of Quality Aboard, refusing him Passage for the Horse, he drew his Sword and run him through, crying, the *Papists shall never have him*. After so many Examples of King *James's* Ministers and Officers, after so many Falsifications of his own Word, King *James* had the Weakness to send to the Lord *Blaney* before he came for *England*, to invite him into his Service, promising him a Pardon for what had pass'd, when his Lordship took Arms, and possess'd himself of *Coleraine*; and his Favour for the Future, insinuating also the Merits of his Family, for their Loyalty and Services. To which

which, my Lord answer'd, *He had now a King upon whose Word he could Depend and Trust, but never wou'd to his, but with his Sword in his Hand.* What Trust cou'd there be in a Prince, who suffer'd all that sery'd him to break their Faith, for the Destruction of his Protestant Subjects? And the Treatment Sir Thomas Southwell met with, is another Flagrant Proof of King James's great Clemency and Justice. The Fact is this;

When the Proclamation came out for disarming the Protestants, Sir Thomas Southwell and some Gentlemen of *Munster*, who were loath to part with their Arms, many of 'em having been robb'd and plunder'd of their Stocks, and their Lives being perpetually in Danger, they attempted, as has been related, to join the Northern Protestants; but were seiz'd, and thrown into Goal at *Galloway*. They had committed no Acts of Hostility, and had surrender'd to Power, High-Sheriff of that County, and Captain *Bourk*, on Assurance of their Lives. *Bourk* Sign'd a Certificate of this, dated the 9th of *March*, 1688. The same did *Bower*, wording it as strong as Words cou'd make it, in a Letter to the Earl of *Tyrconnel*. Five or Six Days afterwards, King James Landed in *Ireland*, and Judge *Martyn* held the Assizes at *Galloway*, where Sir Thomas Southwell, and those that accompanied him, were brought to their Trials. *Martyn* did as *Jefferies* was wont to do, perswaded the Protestant Gentlemen to plead Guilty, assuring them of the King's Mercy. They were over-perswaded by him, though they had not been guilty of any Overt-Act, that cou'd be constru'd Treason, or prov'd against them, as their Lawyers inform'd them.

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As soon as *Martyn* had prevail'd with them to confess themselves *Guilty*, he pass'd Sentence of Death on One Hundred and Forty of them, and with much ado, and a Sum of Money, they procur'd a Reprieve, which they were forc'd to renew from Time to Time. They continu'd under Sentence of Death, in close Imprisonment, being remov'd from Goal to Goal, till the General Deliverance by his Majesty's Victory. During all this Time, they were not only in a starving Condition, but likewise had once a Summons sent them, to prepare for Execution, by the Earl of *Clanrickard*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, who came to *Galloway* about the Beginning of *November*, 1689, and sent them Word that they must prepare for Death on the 6th of the same Month, for it was his Majesty's Pleasure that they should then be executed. Accordingly, the Sheriff appear'd with all necessary Preparations for their Execution, on the Day appointed. There was indeed no such Order; but the Earl being a new Convert, thought it allowable to put this Jest on them, as a Testimony of his Zeal against Hereticks, which was the only Reason given, why he put so many Gentlemen into so terrible a Fright. The Protestants highly resented this cruel Insult, and that an Apostate should sport thus with the Lives of so many Persons of their Religion; which King *James* took no Notice of, though most of the reasonable Men among the Papists, look'd upon it as a most unseasonable Jest.

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There

There was something so extraordinary in the Method of Sir *Thomas Southwell's* procuring his Liberty, that I doubt not the Reader will be entertain'd with the Relation of it.

The Earl of *Seaforth*, a Scotch Peer, who came from France with King *James*, being inform'd of Sir *Thomas's* Case, visited him in Prison at *Galway*; and understanding from his own Mouth the Truth of the Matter, he undertook to reconcile him to the King, and to get his Pardon. King *James* promis'd it on the Earl's Application, and Orders were given to draw up a Warrant for it.

Joseph Cogblan, Esquire, whom I have mention'd as one of the Members of Parliament for the University of *Dublin*, and an Acquaintance of Sir *Thomas's*, was employ'd to do it. Which he undertook the more willingly, because it gave him an Opportunity to procure a Sight of the *Bill of Attainder*, in which Sir *Thomas Southwell* was included; and Mr. *Cogblan* declar'd, he could not draw up a Warrant regularly and effectually without it.

Now this *Bill*, notwithstanding there were several Days appointed, in which People were to come in, and have the Benefit of the Exceptions for doing so; yet to shew that King *James* did not intend that those Exceptions should be of any manner of use to any one Protestant that was attainted; this *Bill*, I say, was kept lock'd up in Chancellor *Fitton's* Closet, and no body could tell whether they were in it or not, till all those Days appointed for their coming in were elaps'd.

Earnest and frequent Application was made to the King, and his Ministers, for a Sight of this

this Act ; that the Friends of the Absentees might know, under what Predicament they were, and give them Advice of it : But they apply'd to him and them in vain ; He and they being determin'd, that the Exceptions should signify nothing, only serve for a Pre-
 tence of Justice upon Occasion, and to stop the Mouths of such as should complain of Injury done them. *Why did you not appear, according to the Act ?* would the Papists cry : Whereas not one of them knew what the Act was, whether they were in it, or not, or when they should appear. Another Evidence of King James's fix'd Resolution, to have neither Mercy nor Justice for his Protestant Subjects.

Mr. Cogblan told the Earl of *Sainsbury*, that he could not tell how to draw up a Pardon for Sir *Thomas Southwell*, which would be valid, except he saw the Act that attainted him. Upon this, the Earl obtain'd an express Order from the King, to have a Copy deliver'd to him ; and it was the only Copy that ever was taken of it, after it was enroll'd. The Earl had Leave to shew it to his Lawyer ; and accordingly he left it with him for a Day only. Mr. Cogblan immediately set several Persons to work, to Copy it ; and the Copy was sent by the first Opportunity to *England* : But the Time for People to come in was so near expir'd, that they could make no manner of Use of the Exceptions, had they been dispos'd to return to *Ireland*, and be try'd for their Lives and Estates, by pack'd Popish Juries ; which was all the Benefit that was allow'd them upon their so doing.

When Mr. Cogblan had drawn up the Warrant for Sir *Thomas Southwell's* Pardon, with a

full *Non Obstante* to the *Act of Attainder*, the Earl carry'd it to the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Neagle, to have a *Fiat* for it. The Attorney read it, and with Indignation threw it aside. The Earl began to expostulate with him, for using the King's Warrant at that rate. Sir Richard told him, *The King did not know what he had done : That he had attempted to do a Thing, which was not in his Power to do. That if the Earl understood their Laws, or had seen the Act of Attainder, he would be satisfy'd the King could not dispense with it.* The Earl of Seaforth reply'd, *He understood Sense and Reason, and was not a Stranger to the Act of Attainder.*

Sir Richard Neagle would not believe him, till the Earl shew'd him a Copy of it ; at the Sight of which he was much surpriz'd. He enquir'd how his Lordship came by it ; intimating, that the Keepers of the *Rolls* were treacherous, in letting any one see it, much more in letting a Copy of it go abroad. The Earl, with very good Reason, express'd his Admiration, that an Act of Parliament should be made a Secret ; and the Laws, upon the Observation of which, the Lives and Fortunes of so many Men depended, should be conceal'd with so much Care from them.

At last the Attorney told him, that he himself would draw up a Warrant for Sir Thomas Southwell's Pardon, which should do his Business, and get the King to sign it. But the Earl refus'd to accept his Offer, unless Sir Thomas's Lawyer might first peruse it : Which being granted, Mr. Cogblan (upon Perusal) found it to be such as would not hold in Law, and intended only to delude him. The Earl made
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new Application to K. James; and Sir Richard Neagle being sent for, the King ask'd him, *Why he did not prepare a Fiat for Sir Thomas Southwell's Pardon, according to the Warrant sent him?* He answer'd, *Your Majesty cannot grant such a Pardon: Your Majesty is only a Trustee for Forfeited Estates, and cannot dispense with the Act. By an express Clause in it, all Pardons that shall be granted are declared void.* The King reply'd, *I hope you do not intend to retrench my Prerogative?* Sir Richard answer'd; *Your Majesty read the Act before you pass'd it?* The King reply'd, *You have betray'd me: I depended on You for drawing the Act; and if you have drawn it so that there is no Room for Dispensing and Pardoning, you have been false to me.*

But his Majesty was not so bent upon Pardoning and Dispensing, as to be irreconcilable to his Attorney on that Head; He continu'd in as great Favour as ever; and when he ran away to France with his Master, King James made him his Secretary of State. That King finding it was not in his Power to pardon Sir Thomas Southwell, gave the Earl of Seaforth leave to take him with him to Scotland; where in return for his Friendship to Sir Thomas, the Earl had permission to live unmolested in the Enjoyment of his Estate. The Archbishop of Dublin's Reflections on this Event are well worth our Observation. *The Reader here, says his Grace, may observe, first the Juggling of the Popish Lawyers with King James; and pity a Prince, who gave himself to such false and double-dealing Counsellors. When an Act of Parliament is made against a Papist, then it is no less than Treason to question the King's Pardoning and Dispensing Power; but when an Act bears hard on a Protestant, and the King has a Mind to*

ease him, then the King has no Power to dispense; He could not grant a Pardon tho' he earnestly desired it. From whence we may see, that the Dispensing Power was only set up to shelter Papists from the Law, and ruin Protestants; and that Papists in their Hearts are as much against it as Protestants.

The Gentlemen who were with Sir Thomas Southwell, were not only most barbarously insulted by the Earl of Clanrickard, Lord Lieutenant of Galway, who for a Jest sake bad them prepare to die at a Minute's Warning, tho' he had no Orders so to do; but notoriously abus'd by that Scoundrel Fielding, who came out of France with King James, and had a Commission given him to raise a Regiment of Irish for the French King's Service; Fielding propos'd to those Gentlemen, that every one of them that would raise Eight Men for him shou'd have his Liberty, and a Pardon: He shew'd a Warrant to them, authorizing him to make such a Proposal. The Protestant Gentlemen immediately us'd their utmost Endeavours to raise the Men; and Fourteen of them at a very great Expence procur'd their Number, and deliver'd them to this Fielding, which got them their Liberty a few Days. But no sooner was Fielding and his Men shipt for France, but King James sent an Order for seizing them, and recommitting them to their former Prison.

Having mention'd the Usage of Sir Thomas Southwell, I shall corroborate it by the Treatment Sir Lawrence Parsons, and some other Gentlemen met with. Sir Lawrence liv'd at Birr in King's County, in the Province of Leinster, and the King's Dragoons plundering the Country round about him, He, and some Tenants and Neighbours of his,

his, shut their Doors, and stood on their Defence. This was construed to be taking Arms against the King, and Collonel Garret Moor seiz'd them all, and sent them Prisoners to *Phillips-Town* in that County, where they were try'd and condemn'd to be Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd. But the *Irish*, who had Relations and Friends that were Prisoners in the *North*, representing to King *James* that the *Northern Protestants* threaten'd to treat them as their own Friends and Relations were treated in the other Provinces, Execution was stopt, and they remain'd in Prison under Sentence of Death. Eleven Gentlemen were condemn'd on the same Account at *Maryborough* in *Queen's County*, Two of whom, Mr. *Maxwell* and Mr. *Lewis* were executed, and the rest respited only for the Reasons before-mentioned. That infamous Wretch, the Lord *Galmoy*, had a Design against Mr. *Maxwell*, and represented him to King *James* as a Person fit to be made an Example of. His Offence was so small, only the shutting his Doors against the *Irish* Robbers, that the very Popish Sheriff had some Compassion on him, and gave him Time after his Condemnation, for his Wife to try whether she cou'd procure him a Pardon. He went himself with her to *Dublin*, where King *James* then was: He got her Admittance to him, and she fell on her Knees before him with Four or Five small Children, who hung about him in Tears, praying him to have pity on her and them, and spare the Life of their Father. This Sight was so moving, that the very *Irish* Nobility seconded his Petition, and besought his Majesty to have Mercy; but his Heart was harden'd against the *Protestants*. He

told her bluntly, *Woman, your Husband shall dye;* and severely reprimanded the Sheriff for not executing him according to his Warrant. The same Fate wou'd Mr. Price of *Wicklow* have had, but that their driving away so many *Protestants*, had so clear'd the Country of Freeholders, that there were not enough left to make up a Jury of *Twelve Men*, to try him, whereas there were 40 Esqrs; and Gentlemen of that County Attainted. This Gentleman also endeavour'd to secure himself against the *Robbers* and *Tories*, and kept his Doors shut to that Purpose : Upon which the *Byrne's*, and other *Irishmen*, besieg'd him ; and he, as many more had done, surrender'd upon Promise of Pardon, and other Articles ; notwithstanding which, according to the Custom among King *James's* Officers, he, and those that were with him, were imprison'd and Prosecuted, but cou'd not be try'd for want of a Jury, as has been observ'd ; yet the Sheriff of the County made a Shift to pick out Freeholders enough to chuse Two Knights for the Shire of *Wicklow*, *Richard Butler*, Esq; and *Richard Talbot*, Esq; who represented it in King *James's* Traiterous Convention ; which how it was chosen, one may see by the Streight the Sheriff of *Wicklow* was put to ; and many other Sheriffs were as hard put to it in other Counties.

Nor did those fare better, who, to avoid giving any Manner of Offence, left their Houses and Estates, and went to *Dublin*, to be under the Eye of the Government, as well as the Protection ; of which Captain *Barton*, in the County of *Moroghau*, was a signal Example. This Gentleman had a Protection for his House at *Carrick Mac Rasse*, and the Arms in it. He had left his Ser-
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vants there to preserve it and his Goods. Him-
 self remain'd at *Dublin* as an Hostage, that they
 might not suspect him to have any Design to
 withdraw to the *North*, or joyn with such *Prote-*
stants as were in Arms there ; yet did *Hugh Mac*
Mahon, who was Deputy Lieutenant of the Coun-
 ty, and Knight of the Shire in the before-men-
 tion'd Parliament, as also Colonel of a Regi-
 ment of Foot, send a Detachment to *Carrick*
Mac Ross ; and the Officer demanded the House
 to be deliver'd to him. Captain *Barton's* Servants
 shew'd their Protection ; and told the Officer
 who commanded the Party, that they had Or-
 ders from the Government to keep the House :
 The Officer assured them he would not disturb
 them, and that he only design'd to lodge some
 of his Men in it to secure it more effectually for
 the King and the Owner. Upon which Pro-
 mise the Servants let them in ; and the Soldiers
 had no sooner obtain'd Entrance, but they fell
 a Plundering, Destroying, and Defacing. Thus,
 in a few Hours Time by ruining his Improve-
 ments, and robbing his Goods, Stock, and Fur-
 niture, they damnify'd him to near the Value of
 Ten Thousand Pounds.

He complain'd of this false and injurious
 Dealing, but could never obtain any Redress,
 or procure the Actors of it to be brought to
 any Account or Punishment : Instead of which,
 they were encourag'd to add new Injuries to
 the former, and at last burnt his House to the
 Ground. Their Treatment of the Reverend
 Mr. *Thomas Corker*, in the County of *Meath*, was
 the more extraordinary, for that the Prince of
Orange was not then Landed, when they began

to Plunder him, and they had had no manner of Provocation from him; he having behav'd himself so courteously, that they cou'd not help acknowledging themselves indebted to his Humanity and Civility towards them. This Minister liv'd at *Donaghmore*, within a Mile of *Navan*, and observing that the *English* Protestants began to remove, and fly, in the beginning of the Winter, 1688, he freely ask'd the *Irish* Gentlemen in his Neighbourhood, what Advice they wou'd give him as to his Removal, he having a great Family: They answer'd, *Ob, dear Sir, do not stir; for if the World were on Fire, you have no Reason to fear, for you have been so obliging to us, your Neighbours, and and to all Sorts, that none will harm you, but rather protect you*: Yet immediately they fell upon his Stock without Doors, and took Part of it away. He then remov'd with his Family to *Dublin*, leaving his *Hogherd*, and most of his Household Goods behind him. About once a Month, he went down to thrash Part of his Corn for his own Use, during which Time they took away all his Stock of Sheep, Black Cattle, and Horses. Captain *Farrel*, who was quarter'd at *Navan* with his Soldiers, fetch'd away all his Corn and Hay. When he went down last, some of his *Irish* Servants told him, it was not safe for him to lie in his own House, so he lay in a Neighbours, and did not venture to go Home, but return'd the next Day to *Dublin*, where he was when King *James* came thither. And where he heard that on *Sunday Night*, the Fifth of *May*, 1689, they came and set Fire to his House in several Places, and burnt it down, and all his Goods, believing he was in the House.

House. They gave out that he had order'd his own Servants to burn it: Which Stratagem was imitated by our Tories. When they burnt the Dissenters Meeting-Houses, to Revenge on them the Prosecution of their Idol *Sashbrunch* for Sedition, they reported that the Dissenters burnt 'em themselves. As to Mr. *Corker's* House, his Shepherd, *William Canton*, inform'd him, that the Friars, and Priests at *Navan*, were very angry with him, and threaten'd him, because he did not Countenance their Report, that he had order'd his own Servants to burn his House. A Priest was the Person that set it a-Fire, the Business therefore was hush'd up, and Mr. *Corker* had no manner of Satisfaction.

The Earl of *Inchiqueen*, and Captain *Henry Boyle*, had put themselves under General *McCarty's* Protection in *Munster*, and he engag'd to secure them, and their Houses, but he did not perform his Promise; for *Castle-Martyr*, belonging to Captain *Henry Boyle*, with all the Improvements, and Furniture, to the Value of some Thousands of Pounds, was destroy'd, and Plunder'd by his Soldiers, and the Rabble; the Earl, and Captain *Boyle*, being forc'd to fly into *England*, to escape with their Lives.

In *Connaught*, some Protestants got into *Headford-Castle*, belonging to Sir *Oliver St. George*, to avoid the Violence of the Irish Mob. They were Besieg'd by *Bourk*, Lord *Galway*, and Surrender'd on Articles of Pardon and Safety; but at the next Assizes, were Indicted for High-Treason. In the County of *Longford*, some Protestants secur'd themselves in the Castle of *Kenaught*, belonging to Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, who

who had gone great Lengths with the Tory Ministers, and thereby contributed to the Destruction with which his Country, and Religion, were threatned. His Lady, and those that were with her, Surrender'd on Articles, to Brigadier Nugent; one of which was, for the Goods belonging to those in the House, and their Friends. Notwithstanding this Article, Nugent Plunder'd the House, and stript those that were in it naked. A few Days after, Colonel Cobannaught Mac-Gwire, came and burnt the House to the Ground, contrary to the express Words of the Articles of Surrender. In short, it was observ'd, says his Grace of Dublin, that among all the Articles into which King James or his Officers enter'd, they never kept any to Protestants.

King James, upon all Occasions, express'd his Inveteracy against the Church of England. And soon after his Arrival at Dublin, the Lord Brittas told Mr. Foley, *His Majesty has no Thoughts of returning to England, by Means of his Protestant Subjects, but by a French Power, and he might Rule as he pleas'd.* The same he said in a Publick Coffee-House, to one Mr. Harding; adding, *The Protestants of Ireland may feed themselves up with what Hopes they please, but they will soon find that the King has no manner of Love for them.* Another of King James's Courtiers said, *The King has a long Time caress'd the damn'd Church of England, but he can do no Good with them; and I hope he'll quickly find an Opportunity to shake them off.* An Expression often made Use of by that King himself.

It will be said, in Answer to what I have here related of King *James* and his Ministers Cruelty, that there were very few Protestants kill'd by the Papists; but the Number is not so small as may be imagin'd. In all the Parts of the Kingdom, there perish'd above Twenty Thousand. Some Murther'd in their Houses, others executed by Martial Law, others starv'd in Goals, others famish'd for want of Food that was taken from 'em, others dy'd of the ill Usage they found in Prisons, and of the Wounds they receiv'd from the Insolent *Irish*. But it is not to be doubted, the *Irish* would have then dealt by the Protestants, as their Forefathers did in the Grand Rebellion of 1641, had it not been for Three Considerations. One was, they had suffer'd so much, and been so often condemn'd for their former Cruelties, that they did not care to venture on them at first, till their Affairs were a little better settled. Another Consideration was, the Condition of some of their Friends, who were Prisoners in the *North*, and of the Catholicks in *England*; on whom it was given out, that the Cruelties they exercis'd on the Protestants, would be reveng'd. A Third, was the Policy of King *James's* Ministers, who continuing to keep up their Parry in *England*, by Representation of King *James's* good Disposition to the Church, were afraid that a Massacree would ruin all his Interest there at once. However, when we reflect upon his condemning near Three Thousand of the most Eminent Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Citizens, in one Act of Attainder, to Death, and Loss of Estates; when we reflect upon his suffering the Protestants to be robb'd of all their

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Substance, and to have their Houses burnt about their Ears; when all his Actions shew'd, that if he suffer'd them to live, it was not out of any Regard to Justice, or them, but merely for his own Interest, that he might not make himself more Enemies in *Britain*: It is easy to imagine, that the Protestants could not think their Lives, which they kept so precariously, a very great Blessing: Or that they wou'd have long preserv'd them, had King *James's* Army driven the *English* out of *Ireland*: It perhaps had been too late to save their Lives then, by turning *Papists*. As some of that Religion, told their Neighbours, of the Church of *England*, whom they advis'd to be *Converts* in Time, for fear their Conversion afterwards, should not be accepted of, to save their Estates. I can't suppose that there is a Creature in the Three Kingdoms, so void of Sense, as to believe King *James* did not intend to make all his Subjects *Papists*. I have repeated a Saying of his on that Occasion; and the Tendency of all his Actions in *England* and *Ireland*, was to accomplish that Design. What said Bishop *Tyrrel*, in a Letter to him of the 14th of *August*, 1686, to Spirit up his Zeal, and quicken him in that Holy Undertaking, *Your Kingdoms are of Opinion*, says the *Romish Priest*, *Popery will break in upon them, and it were pity to disappoint them*. 'Tis true, our Abdicated King needed no Spur; but the *Papists* were impatient to have the Work done, while he liv'd: For he adds, *All Papists must inevitably split upon a Rock, in that Haven where they had Reason to hope for Safety, if not secured against the Storm, during your Majesty's Life; whereas the Days*

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and Hours are precious, considering the important Game you have to play. King James has often been charg'd with being govern'd by Priests. I have shewn how he manag'd himself, with Respect to the Administration of the Government of Ireland, both by himself, and his Ministers; and let the Reader see, whether he did not follow exactly, the Instructions which he receiv'd from this Popish Bishop Tyrrel, in the same Letter, *Purge without Delay, your Irish Army; Increase, and make it wholly Catholick; Raise, and Train a Catholick Militia there; place Catholicks at the Helm of that Kingdom; Issue out Quo Warranto's against all the Corporations in it; put all Employs, Civil as well as Military, into Catholick Hands. This done, call a Parliament, &c.* Such was the Advice his Popish Priests gave him, and it was Natural and Wise in them to give it, but foolish and unnatural in him to pursue it: Had he consider'd seriously with himself, that Nine Parts in Ten of all his Subjects, were zealous Protestants, wou'd he have hearken'd to the Counsels of Rash, Bigotted Jesuits and Friars, who flatter'd him, to make a thorough Change of Religion in England, by the Help of the Irish Papists. It is well for us, that his Head was no better than it was, and that he was weak enough to give himself up to the Guidance of such inconsiderate, unexperienc'd Counsellors. He might have work'd us out of our Religion, but cou'd never drive us.

In the foregoing Sheets, I have given an Account, how King James follow'd this Popish Bishop's Advice, in Modeling the Standing Army, and Militia of Ireland; I will now shew how

how he pursu'd it, with Respect to Civil Employments, and I cannot do it better, than by this,

LIST of Civil Officers employ'd by King James in Ireland, in the Year 1689.

C H A N C E R Y.

Sir *Alexander Fitton*, Baron of *Gosworth*, Lord Chancellor.

Sir *William Talbot*, Baronet, Master of the Rolls.

Dennis Fitzgerald, Esq; his Deputy.

Dr. *Alexius Stafford*, Popish Dean of *Christ-church*.

Dr. *Ignatius Berford*,

Dr. *Matthew Kennedy*,

Dr. *Michael Plunket*,

Captain *Thomas Arthur*, Clerk of the Crown, and *Hanaper*, in Trust for Mr. *Robert Arthur's* Wife, Niece to Lord *Tyrconnel*.

William Dorrington, Esq; Register.

John Newel, Esq;

John Maynard, Esq;

— *Power*, Esq;

Tbady Meagbor, Esq;

John Herny, Esq;

— *Geogbegan*, Esq;

Mr. *James Nagle*, Curfitor, and Engrosser of all Writs.

Owen Coyle, Examiner in *Chancery*, he was Out-law'd for *Forgery*.

K I N G's

KING'S - BENCH

Thomas Lord Nugent, Baron of Riverston, Lord Chief Justice.

Second Justice.

Sir Brian O Neil, Barr. Third Justice.

Randal Mac-Dermot, Esq; Clerk of the Crown and Prothonotary.

Mr. Francis Nugent, Deputy Prothonotary.

Mr. Brian Kerny, Deputy Clerk of the Crown.

COMMON-PLEAS.

John Keating, Esq; Lord Chief Justice.

Dennis Daly, Esq; Second Justice.

Peter Martin, Esq; Third Justice.

Edmund Fitzgerald, Esq; Prothonotary.

Mr. Richard Fenner, his Deputy.

Robert Barnwel, Esq; Custos Brevium, and Chirographer.

Mr. James Nagle, Clerk of the Outlawries.

EXCHEQUER.

Buno Talbot, Esq; Chancellor.

Sir Stephen Rice, Lord Chief-Baron.

Sir John Barnwel, Second Baron.

Sir Henry Lynch, Bart. Puny-Baron.

Olivier Grace, Esq; Chief Remembrancer.

Walter Lord Dungan, Clerk of the Common Pleas.

Martagh Griffin, Esq, his Deputy.

Mr. Philip Dwyer, his Sub-Deputy.

Richard Talbot of Malahide, Esq; Auditor-General.

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Mr. Chri-

Mr. Christopher Malone, Surveyor-General, in Trust for Lady Tyrconnel, and her Daughter, Wife to Colonel Dillon.

Mr. James Nagle, Clerk of the Exchequer and Summoner.

Mr. Richard Morgan, Pursuivant.

Francis Stafford, Esq; Clerk of the Pipe.

Charles White, Esq; Clerk of the First Fruits.

Marcus Bagger, Esq; First Serjeant at Arms.

Mr. Thomas Haughton, Second Serjeant at Arms.

Brian Mac-Dermot, Clerk of the Pels and Tallies, and Clerk of the Treasury.

Mr. Patrick Kennedy, Comptroller of the Pipe.

Thady Meagher, Esq; Clerk of the Errors.

Mr. John Barry, Chief Chamberlain.

Mr. Simon Carrick, Second Chamberlain.

Oliver Grace, Esq; Transcriber, and Foreign Opposer.

Sir Richard Nagle, Attorney-General, and Speaker of the House of Commons.

Garret Dillon, Esq; Prime Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of Dublin.

TREASURY and REVENUE.

Richard Duke of Tyrconnel,

Henry Lord Dover,

Thomas Lord Riversdon, Lord Chief-Justice,

Sir Stephen Rice, Lord Chief Baron,

Burn Talbot, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

Adam

Adam Coleclough, Esq; Secretary.
Sir Patrick Trant,
Sir William Ellis,
Sir Theobald Butler, } **Commissioners of the**
Richard Collins, Esq; } **Revenue.**
John Trinder, Esq;
Francis Plowden, Esq;
Sir Henry Bond, } **Receivers General.**
James Doe, Esq;
Charles Playdel, Esq; Secretary to the Com-
missioners.
Nicholas Fitzgerald, Esq; Solicitor.
Mt. Robert Longfeld, Clerk of the Quit Rents,
 and forfeited Estates.
John Trinder, Esq;
William Talbot, Esq;
Thomas Goddard, Esq; } **Commissioners of the**
Walter Plunket, Esq; } **Mint for the Brass**
Mr. Francis Rice, } **Money.**
Mr. Edward Fox,
Mr. William Bromfield,
Dr. James Fitz-Gerald, Collector of the Cu-
 stoms, in the Port of Dublin.
Mr. Henry Fitzgerald, Land-Walter at Dublin.
Mr. William Briscoe,
Mr. Pbelim Dempsy, } **Surveyors at Ringsend.**
Mr. Francis Creagh, Surveyor at Dunlary.
— Carol, Esq; Examiner of the Excise
 Accounts.
Mr. Philip Clayton, Surveyor of Excise.
Sir James Cotter, Collector at Cork.
Arthur Nagle, Esq; Collector at Galway.
Mt. Dominick Rice, Collector at Kinsale.
— Butler, Esq; Collector at Water-
 ford.
Mr. John

Mr. *John Rice*, Collector at *Lymrick*.

Mr. *Patrick Fitzgerald*, Collector at *Youghal*.

Hugh Reilly, Clerk of the Privy-Council.

Alderman *James Malone*, } The Patentees for
Richard Malone, Esq; } Printing.

Dr. *Archbold*, Physician to the Army.

Dr. *Constable*, Physician in Ordinary.

All these, and many more of Inferior Degrees, were put in Place after King *James's* Landing, and within the Space of Six or Seven Months; not one of them a Protestant, but Men that had distinguish'd themselves by their Rage and Inveteracy against them.

As the Courage and Wisdom of the Church of England Clergy and Laity, in resisting King *James's* violent Attempts to destroy her, were then her Safety, so are they now, and always will be her Glory. The Clergy of our Church in Ireland, distinguish'd themselves by their Zeal and Resolution, against the Violence and Injustice of his Government. The Brave Defence of *London-Derry*, was owing, in a great Measure, to the Courage and Conduct of the Reverend Mr. *Walker*, the Governor; as was the securing of *Enniskilling*, to the Advice and Example of the Reverend Mr. *Webb*, who caus'd King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to be Proclaim'd there; and the Papists were so enrag'd at him for it, that the Lord *Galway* came immediately and Attack'd the Town, with an Intention chiefly to get hold of the Minister, whom he threaten'd to hang on a Gallows as high as that of *Haman's*, but the *Enniskilling Men*, beat him off, and were so solicitous for the Safety of their Pastor, that they forc'd him to retire to
London.

London-Derry, and thence to *England*, for fear he shou'd fall into their Enemies Hands.

The resolute and glorious Defence made by those Two Places, was certainly the Preservation of *Ireland*, and contributed very much to the Safety of *England*. Had not those Two Towns made such a Stand, and King *James* had by reducing them, made himself entire Master of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; the *French* Scheme was, that he shou'd have Transported his *Irish* and *French* Army to *Scotland*, have there join'd with *Dundee*, and the *Higbland* Rebels, and have march'd directly to the North of *England*; the Consequence of which, might have been fatal to these Kingdoms, in the Destruction such an Army wou'd have made, whether they had re-establish'd him on his *Abdicat'd* Throne or not. How did the Bishops, and Clergy of *Ireland* live then, with their Protestant Brethren? Did they make Misrepresentations of 'em to the Government, as was done in *Phipps's* Time? Did they promote Laws to take from them their Privileges; even that natural one, of teaching their own Children, as some High-Church Prelates, under the Influence of the same *Phipps*, did lately? Did they incapacitate them to hold Offices for the common Defence of the *English* Interest, or study Methods to make them uneasy? No: The Church of *England* Protestants, and their Brethren the Dissenters, liv'd Peaceably and Amicably. The Matter, says the Archbishop of *Dublin*, was carry'd with so much Prudence, that they liv'd in perfect Amity, Peace and Charity together, and all assisted one another, towards their common Safety.

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I have

I have in more Places than one, hinted how the late Tory Ministers imitated the *Papish* and *Irish* Tory Managers, under King James, in their Administration. There is one Circumstance more, which I cannot forbear mentioning, as a farther Proof of it; and that is, their employing Mercenary Scribblers, to vilify and blacken the Protestants, and their Religion.

The Late Ministers set *Jonathan Swift*, whom they made Dean of *St. Patrick's*; *Daniel Foe*, a broken Hostler; and one *Oldsworth*, to work, to insult and abuse their Predecessors, who had done such great Things towards reducing the Exorbitant Power of *France*; that it might never be of use to the pretended Son of our Abdicated King. They hir'd these Scribblers to calumniate our Allies, and all Lovers of Liberty, whether of the Church of *England*, or any other Protestant Church. They represented them all as Fanatical and Seditious in their *Examiners*, *John Bull*, &c. And they took the Hint of it from their Brother Tories of *Ireland*; who, when King James came among them, employ'd one *Talbot*, a Petty-fogging Convert, to write a Weekly Paper which he call'd the *Abhorrence*, wherein he endeavour'd to rake together all the little Stories that might reflect on Protestants, and all the Arguments his Wit cou'd furnish him with for his Cause. He publish'd a notorious Lye against Dr. King, and Dr. Foe, which they found Means to prove upon him, without concerning themselves much in the Matter, to use the Words of the Former; but he did like *Swift* and *Oldsworth*, in the *Examiner*, if they were convicted of a Palpable Lye

Lye in one Paper, they vindicated themselves in the next by another; the same did *Falger* do in Dublin. This Discovery would have call'd any other out of Countenance, says Dr. King, speaking of the Detection of a Falsity he publish'd relating to himself and Dr. Foy: but he went on his own Way, and became every Day more and more abusive, till he, and his Abhorrence, were routed together. His Work was to magnify the Party that adhered to King James in England, to represent their present Majesties Interest as sinking. Thus did *Oldworth* in the *Examiner* magnify the High Church Faction as the Nine in Ten; and treat the Protestants of the Church of England, and the Protestant Dissenters, as the routed Party: But God be thank'd, on his present Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne, He, and his *Examiner* were routed together. By this we see, that the English and Irish Tories are exactly of a Piece; and that, if the former do not plunder and undo their Neighbours of the Reformed Religion, as the latter did, it is because they are not the Nine in Ten, which they pretend to, and never put their Strength to the Tryal, but they severely paid for it. Both the one, and the other, being good at bouncing and threatening, but cowardly Wretches when they are to come to Action. Upon the Report of Duke Schomberg's Landing, the Irish Army could hardly be kept together, they were presently for shifting every Man for himself, till the News of the Sickness of the Soldiers, and the Smallness of their Number, gave them a little Heart again: whereas on the contrary, his coming, tho' with so few Troops, and those in so bad a Plight, animated the Protestants and they soon became entire Masters of the Province of Ulster. How Zealous they were,

both Clergy and Laity, may be seen by the following Address, presented by the Lord *Blany* to his Grace soon after his Arrival.

To his Grace, Frederick, Duke of Schonberg, General of all his Majesty's Forces, &c.

The humble Petition of several of the Protestant Inhabitants of the Province of *Ulster*, in behalf of Themselves, and the rest of the Protestant Nobility, Clergy, and Commonalty of the said Province.

Humbly Sheweth ;

That your Petitioners, with all imaginable Gratitude, are highly sensible of, and truly thankful for your Grace's indefatigable Labour, Hazard, Toil, and Trouble, in Restoring, Securing, and Protecting, the Protestant Interest of this Province : And presuming that the Protestant Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty, (as in Gratitude and Interest obliged) are, and will be ready to contribute their utmost Advice and Assistance for securing the said Province, and carrying on this War,

Your Petitioners humbly pray your Grace, that they may meet, consult, and consider, fitting Expedients to be offered your Grace, for securing this Province, and your Grace's further successful Management of this War against the Common Enemy.

And They, as in Duty bound, shall ever Pray.

Dr.

Dr. John Wilkins, Dean of Clogher.

Francis Hill, Esq;

John Hawkins, Esq;

Charles Stewart, Esq;

Robert Donnellson, Esq;

Blany.

James Hamilton of Tallymor, Esq;

Daniel Mac Neal, Esq;

Dr. John Mac Neal, Dean of Down.

Sir John Magill.

Randal Brice, Esq;

The General having taken this Petition into his Consideration, and heard all that was said in pursuance of it, did after great Deliberation come to the following Resolution :

His Grace readily consents to what is desir'd by the Petitioners ; and is willing to receive any Advice they shall be pleas'd to offer for the Security of this Province, and the farther successful Management of the War against the Common Enemy.

Signed by Order,

Robert Gorge, Secretary,

What was done by the General, and the Gentlemen of Ulster ; what afterwards by King William, and General Ginkle ; and what by the several Lords Lieutenants, and Lords Justices of that Kingdom, being to be met with in the History of the Reign of King William ; I shall not repeat it here ; my chief Design was to shew King James's Tyranny, and the Cruelty and Injustice of his Adherents ; which it is hop'd will be a Lesson to all good Britons to beware of trusting any

any such Men hereafter. For where can we hope for another King *William*, or another King *George*, to deliver us, when our Folly and Credulity have brought us into the extreamest Peril?

I have had Occasion in the preceeding Pages to speak of Sir *Terence Dermot*, Lord Mayor of *Dublin* when King *James* was there; of whom I know the following Particulars, which will give us great Light into some Part of the History of *Ireland*, and King *James*. This Sir *Terence* was a Merchant at *Dublin*, a very fair Dealer, but a Bigot to Popery. Some time before King *James* came from *France*, he wrote a Letter to Mr. *John Gardner*, a Merchant of *London*, who was his Correspondent, to know his Opinion of Things, that he might govern himself accordingly. That Merchant, who was very Zealous for the Revolution, and a Man of good Understanding and Intelligence, gave Sir *Terence* his best Advice; That Affairs were likely to stand as they did in *England*, that King *James* might probably come to *Ireland*, but that Kingdom must follow the Fate of *Great-Britain*, whatever Struggle the *Irish* might make, and whatever Trouble they might for a Time give the *English*; that King *William* had the Money, the Fleet, and the Hearts of the People, which would infallibly fix him on the Throne, especially, when there was a Confederacy form'd, which wou'd keep the *French* King in Play on the Continent. The same good Advice he gave to a Friend of Sir *Terence Dermot's* Capt. *Thomas Nugent*, a *West-India* Merchant, desiring them both to be Neuter. Captain *Nugent* did as he advis'd him; but Sir *Terence* was prevail'd upon by King *James* to be Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*, and a Representative in his

his Parliament for that City. This necessarily drew him into several Illegal Actions; and after the Battel of the Boyne, fearing to be call'd to Account, he fled with King James to France. He had not been there long before he was weary of his Banishment, and apply'd to his Friend, the Merchant of London, to procure him a Pardon, which was not very easily done. He propos'd to give 500 Guineas to any Person that would sollicite it effectually; and with great Difficulty, a Promise of it was obtain'd in Favour to a Gentleman who had been very serviceable to King William, and was to have the Gratuity. In the mean Time, the Jacobites in England represented their Strength so formidably to the French King, that he resolv'd to make an Attempt to restore King James; in order to which, he Equipp'd one of the strongest Fleets he ever put to Sea; and posted an Army of 25000 at La Hogue, on the Sea-Coasts, to be ready to be transported with the Abdicated King to England. This Enterprize was thought so well concerted, that it was impossible it should miscarry, considering that the English and Dutch Fleets were not join'd when the French were at Sea: And the Jacobites had assur'd the French Court, that most of the Sea-Officers wou'd joyn King James. Upon this, Sir Terence Dermot writes to his Correspondent to stop his Hand, for he wou'd give nothing. His Correspondent had past his Word for the 500 Guineas. However, the Gentleman that was to have had them easily discharg'd him from it, hearing how disingenuously this Catholick Refugee had dealt by them. A little while after, Admiral Russel beat the French Fleet; Their Capital Ships were burnt in sight of King James at
La

La Hogue : That poor Prince return'd to *St. Germain* in Despair; and *Sir Terence* writes again earnestly to his Merchant to resume the Treaty for the Pardon on the old Terms, but it would not do; his Disingenuity had so disgusted the Gentleman that he would not concern himself in it. And his Folly, in building so much on the vain Accounts the *Jacobites* sent to *France*, and on the *French King's* Assistance, so afflicted him, that he took it to Heart and dy'd. His Friend, *Captain Nugent*, carefully avoided concerning Himself in the Outrages committed by the *Catholicks* on the *Protestants*, and took the first Opportunity to go for *England*, where he purchas'd a very pleasant Retirement, and Liv'd and Dy'd in *Hertfordshire*; an Example to all Wise and Honest *Papists*, who live under a Protestant Constitution.

As these *Memoirs* are receiv'd by the Publick, I shall communicate others of the Reign of *King William*, and *Queen Anne*; which will further prove the Design of the *Tories*, to destroy the *Protestant-Interest* in *Ireland*; and that *Ormond* and *Phipps* went as ready a Way to do it as ever *Tyrconnell* did, excepting only, that they had no Time to raise a *Popish Army*.

A True and Compleat LIST of the
 Lords Spiritual and Temporal; to-
 gether with the Knights, Citizens,
 and Burgesses, of the Parliament of
 IRELAND, held at Chichester-
 House in Dublin, Wednesday the
 4th of October, 1692.

N. B. This was the next Parliament Cho-
 sen after King James's, and it sat almost
 all King William's Reign.

SIR Charles Porter,
 Knight, Lord Chan-
 cellor.

Dr. Michael Boyle, Lord
 Archbishop of Armagh,
 Primate of Ireland.

Dr. Fran. Marsh, Arch-
 bishop of Dublin

Dr. Narcissus Marsh,
 Archbishop of Cashell

Dr. Joseph Vesey, Arch-
 bishop of Tuam

Richard Earl of Corke,
 Lord Treasurer,

DUKES.

Butler D. of Ormond.
 Schomberg D. of Lein-
 ster.

MARQUESSES.

EARLS.

E A R L S:

Fitzgerald Earl of Kil-	Boyle Earl of Orrery
dare	Coote E. of Monrath
O'Brien Earl of Tho-	Moore E. of Drogheda
mond	Talbot Earl of Water-
Burk Earl of Clabric-	ford and Wexford
card	Montgomery Earl of
Toucheat E. of Castle-	Montalexander
haven	Palmer Earl of Castle-
Boyle Earl of Corke	ma
Mc. Donnel E. of An-	Traffe Earl of Carling-
trim	ford
Nugent Earl of West-	Power E. of Tyrone
meath	Jones E. of Ranelagh
Dillon Earl of Rosco-	Aungier Earl of Long-
mon	ford
Ridgeway Earl of Lon-	Forbes E. of Granard
don-Derry	Dungan Earl of Lyns-
Fielding Earl of Des-	rick
mond	Coote E. of Ballymore
Brabazon E. of Meath	Ginkell E. of Athlone
Barry Earl of Barry-	
more	VISCOUNTS.
Vaughan Earl of Car-	Preston Viscount Gor-
bury	marston
Plunkett E. of Fingale	Roch. Vis. Fermoy
Chichester Earl of Don-	Butler Viscount Mount-
negall.	garret
Lambert E. of Cavan	Villiers Vis. Grandison
O'Brien Earl of Inchi-	Annesly Vis. Valentia
quin	Dillon Viscount Castello
Macarty Earl of Clan-	and Gallen
carty	Netterville Vis. Dowth
	Loftus Vis. Ely

Beaumont *Visc.* Swords
 Magennis *Visc.* Iwergh
 Needham *Visc.* Kilmarney
 Sarsfield *Viscount* Kil-
 mallock
 Burk *Visc.* Mayo
 Sanderfon *Visc.* Castle-
 lowne
 Chaworth *Visc.* Armagh
 Scudamore *Visc.* Shigoe
 Lumly *Visc.* Waterford
 Smith *Visc.* Strangford
 Wenman *Visc.* Team
 Molineux *Visc.* Marybo-
 rough
 Fairfax *Visc.* Eimly
 Butler *Visc.* Ikerin
 Fitz-Williams *Viscount*
 Merryon
 O Dempsey *Visc.* Glen-
 malier
 Cockaine *Visc.* Cullen
 Tracey *Viscount* Rath-
 coole
 Smith *Visc.* Carrington of
 Barrefore
 Bulkley *Visc.* Cashell
 Brounker *Visc.* Lyons
 Ogle *Visc.* Catherlogh
 Butler *Visc.* Galmoy
 Barnewell *Visc.* King-
 land
 Boyle *Visc.* Shannon
 Skevington *Visc.* Masse-
 reene

Cholmondly *Visc.* Kells
 Fanshaw *Visc.* Drogheda
 O Bryan *Visc.* Clare
 Trevor *Viscount* Dun-
 ganon
 Boyle *Visc.* Dungarvan
 Berkely *Visc.* Fitzhard-
 ing of Beerhaven
 Canfield *Visc.* Charle-
 mont
 Wingfield *Visc.* Power-
 scout
 Boyle *Visc.* Blessington
 Lane *Viscount* Lanesbo-
 rough
 Dawney *Visc.* Down
 Parsons *Visc.* Ross
 Steward *Visc.* Monjoy
 Loftus *Visc.* Lisburne
 Extinct
 Bourke *Visc.* Galway
 Brown *Visc.* Kenmare
 Mac Carty *Visc.* Mount-
 cashell
 Cheevers *Visc.* Mount
 Leinster

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 Orway *Bishop* of Ossory
 and Kilkenny
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Wileman Bishop of Dro- more	Butler Baron of Dun- boyne
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Tennison Bp. of Clog- her	Plunkett Bar. of Lowth
Vigors Bp. of Fernes and Leighlin	Burke Baron of Castle- Connell
Fitzgerald Bp. of Clon- fert	Butler Baron of Cohair
Foy Bp. of Waterford and Lisinore	Burk Baron of Brittas
Floyd Bp. of Killala and Achonvy	Steward Bar. of Castle- Steward, Extinct
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Wilson Bp. of Lymerick- Aghadore, &c.	Maynard Bar. of Wick- low
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— Bishop of Kilmore	Digby Bar. of Geashill
— Bishop of Cloyne	Fitz-Williams Baron of Lifford
— Bishop of Kilaloo	

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	Brereton Bar. of Lough- lin
	Hare Bar. of Coleraine Sherard

Sherard Bar. of Leitrim
Magwire Baron of In-
niskilling

Hamilton Baron of Stra-
bane

Hawley Baron of Dun-
cannon

Allington Baron of Kil-
lard

King Bar. of Kingston

Barry Bar. of Santry

Annesly Bar. of Altham

Bellew Bar. of Duleck

Petty Bar. of Shelborne

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Major Sam. Maynard

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Borough of Belfast

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Sir Rich. Levinge, Kt.

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fergus

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Henry Clements, Esq;

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Randal Bryce, Esq;

County of Cavan

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Borough of Belturbet

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John Warburton, Esq;

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Sir John Mac Gill

Will. Shaw, of Ganway

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Borough of Killeleagh

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Borough of Newtown

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Borough of Newry

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Borough of Monaghan

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Town of Clogher

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Bo-

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Sir Matthew Bridges

Oliver Mac Caffland

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*Kt. and Bar.*John Eyre, *Esq;**Borough of Athenry*Edw. Pearce, *Esq;*Rich. Whaley, *Esq;**Borough of Galway*

Sir Henry Bellafys

Neh. Donnellan, *Esq;**Borough of Tuam*

Sir Francis Brewster

Gilbert Ormsby, *Esq;**County of Leitrim*James Wynne, *Esq;*John Reynolds, *Esq;**Borough of Carickdrum-*
*rusk*Owen Wynn, *Esq;*Roger Smith, *Esq;**Borough of Jamestown*John Mahon, *Esq;*Robert Smith, *Esq;**County of Mayo*

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Francis Cuffe, *Esq;**Borough of Castlebarr*John Bingham, *Esq;*Robert Ormsby, *Esq;**County of Roscommon*Sir Robert King, *Bar.*

Col. George St. George

*Borough of Abbyboy*Will. Handcock, *Esq;*Stephen Ludlow, *Esq;**Borough of Roscommon*James Sloare, *Esq;*

Capt. Henry Sandford

*Borough of Tulsk*Will. Neave, *Esq;*Will. Caulfield, *Esq;**County of Sligoe*Edw. Wingfield, *Esq;*Hugh Morgan, *Esq;**Borough of Sligoe*Percy Gethings, *Esq;*Theo. Jones, *Esq;*

